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ROCK ART THROUGH TIME

SCANIAN ROCK CARVINGS IN THE
BRONZE AGE AND EARLIEST IRON AGE

PETER SKOGLUND



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ROCK ART THROUGH TIME

SCANIAN ROCK CARVINGS IN THE
BRONZE AGE AND EARLIEST IRON AGE

PETER SKOGLUND



Swedish Rock Art Series: Volume 5

Rock Art Through Time

Scanian rock carvings in the Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age

Peter Skoglund



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Front cover: Human image at Järrestad 13:1 with a sword with winged chape attached to the body. Rubbing: Dietrich Evers. SHFA id: 2350.

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Swedish Rock Art Series

Bronze Age rock art represents a unique Nordic contribution to world culture, and more than 17,000 localities are known in Sweden alone. They constitute one of the World's most complex and well-preserved prehistoric imageries. Centered in the World Heritage site of Tanum in western Sweden, the Swedish Rock Art Research Archives (Svenskt Hällristnings Forsknings Arkiv – SHFA), at the University of Gothenburg was established in 2006 to further documentation and research on this unique Bronze Age heritage. All original documentation – from large rubbings to photos are being digitized and along with modern digital documentations made continuously accessible for international research on the web portal www.shfa.se. Based on this material Swedish Rock Art Series will present ongoing research and new documentation in years to come.

Kristina Kihlström
Director SHFA

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Introduction

Rock art in south-east Scania

This book deals with the rock art surrounding the city of Simrishamn in south-east Scania, Sweden (Fig. 1.1, 1.2). As many other areas in south Scandinavia, this region has a great many Bronze Age mounds that are still visible in the landscape, and records from the museums demonstrate that the area is rich in bronze metalwork (Larsson 1986).

Nevertheless, it is the figurative rock art that makes this region stand out as distinct in relation to surrounding areas that lack figurative images. The rock art in this region constitutes a spatially well-defined tradition that chronologically covers the Bronze Age and the earliest Iron Age, *c.* 1700–200 BC (Althin 1945; Skoglund 2013a). Even though the number of sites is limited, they have certain characteristics that are stimulating starting points in any attempt to interpret south Scandinavian rock art.

One feature distinguishing this region from many other regions is the larger representation of various kinds of metal axes, offering an opportunity to compare images and objects from different perspectives.

Another characteristic is the geographical position of this area, inside the core zone of metal consumption in southernmost Scandinavia. In this respect the Simrishamn area is rather unique as the majority of rock art regions in Scandinavia are located further north in zones where there was less metal in circulation. Therefore, we may presume a closer relationship between iconography displayed on metals and iconography displayed on rock art in the Simrishamn area than what is generally found when dealing with Scandinavia as a whole.

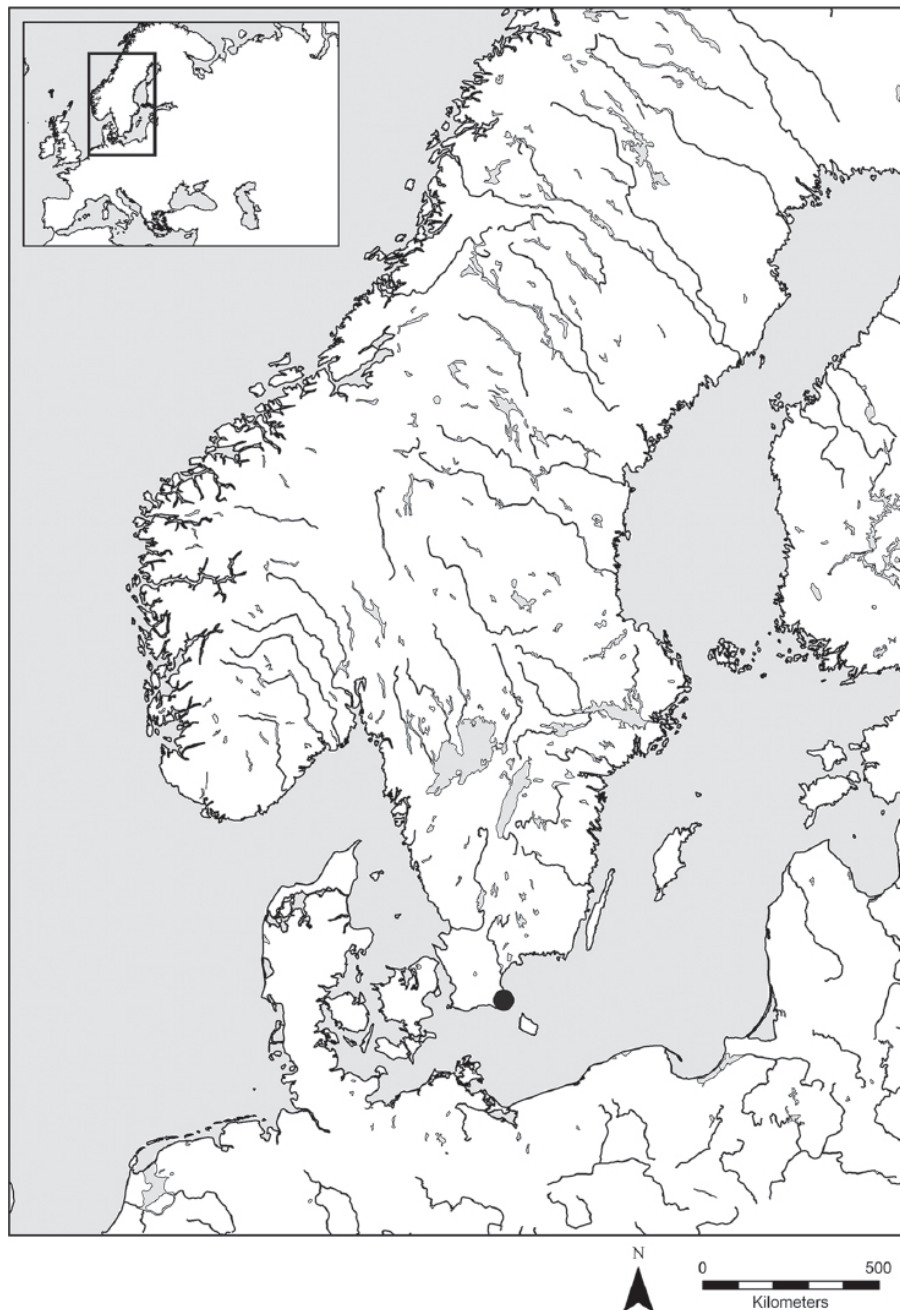


Figure 1.1. Map of Scandinavia with the studied area indicated by a black dot. Image: Tony Axelsson.

The Simrishamn region encompasses a limited number of rock art panels compared to most other south Scandinavian rock art regions. Instead of being a restraint, this could be seen as an advantage; motifs executed early in the tradition of rock art are only to a limited degree blurred by later additions.

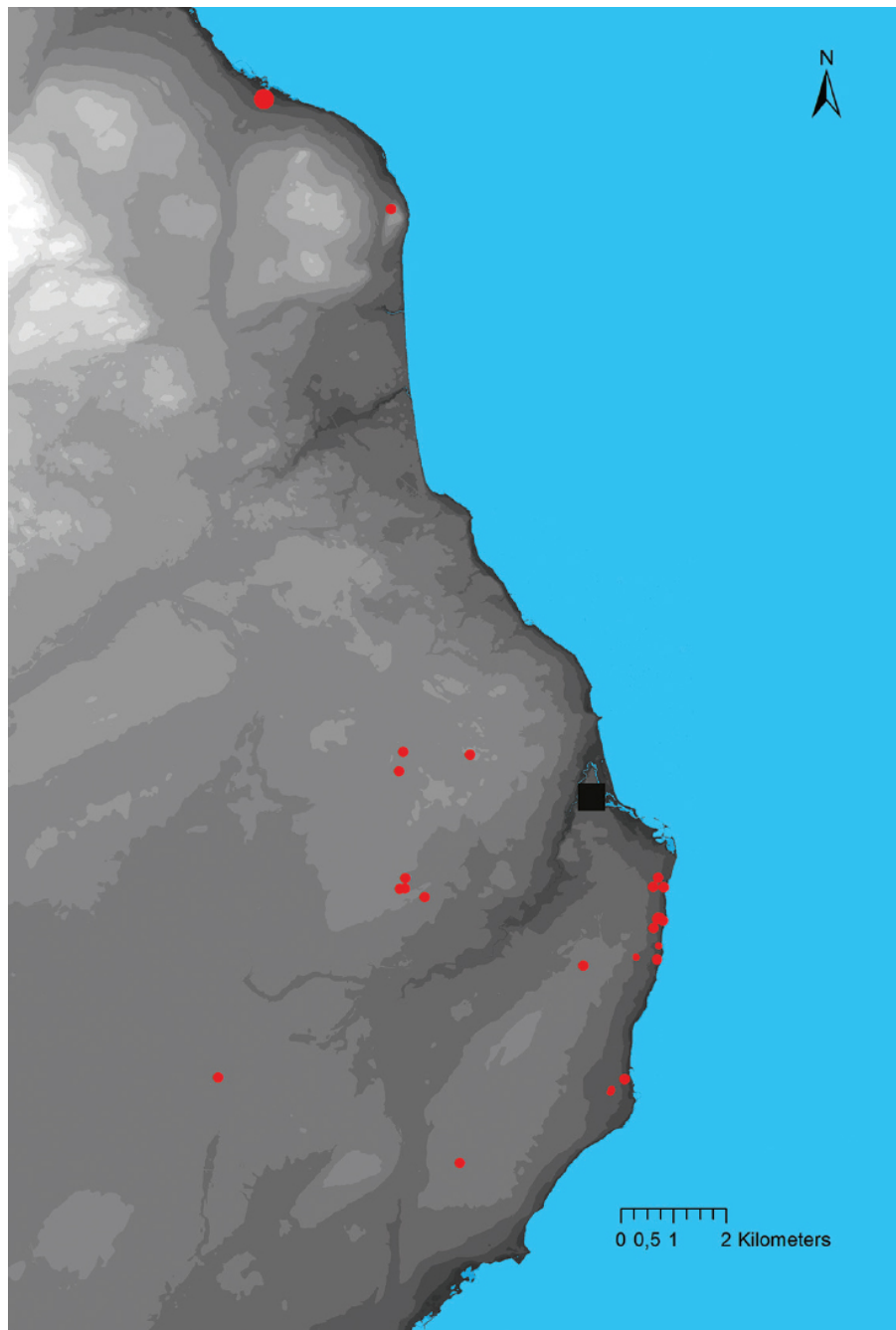


Figure 1.2. Map of the study area with rock art panels indicated by red dots and the city of Simrishamn indicated by a black square. Image: Peter Skoglund.

Finally, the Simrishamn region is situated in Scania, a region which is quite well understood from an archaeological perspective, as many large-scale rescue excavations have been carried out in connection with the expansion of towns and the construction of new railways and motorways. Thus, there is

good potential for relating rock art to a wider archaeological framework.

It should be noted, however, that there are problems involved in the interpretation of the rock art in this area. A fundamental concern is the spatial distribution of rock art, which is biased because of modern activities: especially the frequent occurrence of stone quarries close to rock art sites has caused severe damage. The majority of the rock art in south-east Scania is carved on Cambrian sandstone, which seems to have been in high demand among the local people in older times.

At the two major rock art sites, Simrishamn 18:1 and 23:1, for example, it is evident that these recent activities have destroyed rock art. Another factor to consider is the location of modern communities like the village of Brantevik, which to a large extent is situated on rocky ground. Rock art sites are known just outside the village (Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1, 127 and 129) and if there once existed sites closer to the sea in the present-day village these are gone today.

Despite these shortcomings, the Simrishamn area is a good starting point for a study of south Scandinavian rock art, and though this book deals with a restricted region, the aim is to raise some questions of principle concerning the current understanding of the south Scandinavian rock art tradition.

Earlier research on rock art in south-east Scania

The aim of this section is to give a brief survey of earlier research on Scanian rock art and its relation to the present study.

The study of Scanian rock art started with the discovery of the Kivik carvings in the mid-18th century; and since then a large amount of research has been devoted to the Kivik cairn including its carvings. However, it is only recently that the Kivik monument has been the subject of an extensive biography, written by Joakim Goldhahn, which also includes an overview of earlier research (2013). The reader is referred to that publication and Klavs Randsborg's study from 1996 for an account of the Kivik carvings. A new documentation of the carvings was conducted in 2014 by Andreas Toreld and Tommy Andersson (Toreld and Andersson 2015).

The Villfara carving was found in a grave context in the 1820s – this monument too has attracted a lot of interest, and a reinterpretation of the carving including an evaluation of earlier research was recently published by Jens Winther Johannsen (2013).

The start of more general interest in south-east Scanian rock art goes back to the 1850s when Nils Gustaf Bruzelius – an archaeologist educated at Lund University – started to recording rock art and perform archaeological excavations in the Simrishamn area. He visited several panels around the city of Simrishamn, spoke to the local people and in 1875 he wrote the first

scholarly synthesis of the rock art in the area.

He spotted all the larger sites known today (Simrishamn 15:1 and 23:1 and Järrestad 13:1), and several smaller ones as well. In order to date the carvings at Järrestad 13:1 he performed archaeological excavations of nearby mounds. In his published work he primarily operated with written descriptions, but he also published some drawings (Bruzelius 1880–82).

The first large work including documentation of all known Scanian rock carvings appeared in 1945 when Carl-Axel Althin published his doctoral thesis *Studien zu den bronzezeitlichen Felszeichnungen von Skåne* 1–2. Althin's main focus was to date the Scanian carvings, and by using a comparative method whereby he examined rock art motifs in relation to metalwork, he concluded that a majority of the carvings dated to Montelius' periods IV and V. His work has been criticized both for the specific interpretations of motifs and for the chronological framework (Nordén 1946; Burenhult 1980: 101–103), but to this day it has remained the only in-depth study of the Scanian rock art.

A major problem with Althin's study is that even though he compared rock art images with actual artefacts, he disregarded many of the axes at Simrishamn 23:1 because he thought of them as being over-dimensional cult objects made of organic materials. The majority of scholars both before and after Althin have regarded these axes as flanged axes (Montelius 1900; Burenhult 1980; Almgren 1987). Due to this standpoint, Althin missed out the early phase of Scanian rock art, and reached the conclusion of a Late Bronze Age origin for a majority of the images.

In 1974 Stig Welinder published an article on Scanian rock art, where he discussed the combination of motifs on different sites in order to gain an understanding of the chronology. According to Welinder, there were three traditions with different datings. The oldest one was made up of axes and ships which ceased to be produced during Montelius' period III, the second one consisted of circle motifs and wagons which had a long period of production covering the whole Bronze Age, and the latest tradition consisted of feet images which Welinder attributed to the latest part of the Bronze Age (1974: 272–273).

Scania was crucial for Göran Burenhult in his work on the chronology of the south Scandinavian rock art and he criticized Althin for the conclusion that a majority of them originated in Montelius' periods IV and V. Instead of Althin's comparative method, he used carving depth as a chronological criterion, and by this method he established an alternative foundation for the dating of rock art. He concluded that the start of the rock art tradition was in the Middle Neolithic, but he regarded the major rock art tradition as being of Early Bronze Age date (1980). This conclusion was reached primarily on the basis of carving depth, but he also compared images of artefacts with actual artefacts. Burenhult's methodological approach has been criticized (Mandt 1982), and has not been widely accepted.

The Scanian carvings were also important to Bertil Almgren, who based his conclusions about rock art chronology on a comparison of style in carvings and style in the design of metal objects (1987). Almgren argued that the Scanian rock art tradition covered a longer period of time including the whole of the Bronze Age. Though Almgren's methodological approach is difficult to grasp in all its nuances, his conclusions on chronology are very often in line with present-day research.

Lately, important work has been carried out by John Coles on the Järrestad carving. Especially noteworthy is the re-documentation of this large and important panel (1999).

In 2004 Christopher Tilley devoted substantial parts of his book *The Materiality of Stone* to the study of rock art in south-east Scania. The chronology of individual panels was not an issue for Tilley; he was interested in the wider context of the carvings, such as their relation to the sea and surrounding monuments.

Over the years there have been several projects aiming at documentation of individual sites. In the 1980s a large panel came to light in the ground of a private house at Brantevik and a preliminary account on this site was given by Märta Strömberg (1985). New documentation of several panels has also been carried out by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam, both in relation to a survey of ancient monuments conducted by the National Heritage Board (2011) and as part of the present project (2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). Rock art panels have also come to light at Brantevik as a result of archeological excavations (Wallin 2010). Recently, a group of German researchers undertook new documentation of the panel at Simrishamn 15:1 (Tron *et al.* 2007). Finally, the Swedish Rock Art Research Archive in Tanum has managed intensive fieldwork and documentation of the larger panels at Simrishamn 23:1 and Järrestad 13:1. The recording is displayed at the website www.shfa.se.

This study shares an overall interest in chronology with the works of Althin, Burenhult and Almgren. In contrast to Burenhult, I do not see any clear evidence of a Neolithic beginning of the rock art tradition, but the figurative motifs have parallels in Bronze Age material culture.

Methodologically, this study operates in line with Althin's comparative approach, studying rock art in relation to the design of metal artefacts and motifs occurring on metal objects. Althin made important observations, but his results are constrained by the notion that he thought each panel represented a rather closed moment of time: he was unwilling to accept that a single panel could have been used during different periods of the Bronze Age. That many of the panels in south-east Scania were used during different periods was demonstrated by Bertil Almgren (1987), and a multi-period use of many panels in south-east Scania is consistent with the results of this study (Skoglund 2013a).

This study chiefly differs from earlier ones because of the ambition to put

rock art into a rather detailed historical context. In this discussion the notion that rock art panels were part of a cultural landscape that underwent significant changes during the course of the Bronze Age is important. These two starting points – rock art chronology and landscape perspectives – will be elucidated in the coming sections, but first a short note on the organization of the present project is necessary.

Methods used in the present project

This study is the outcome of a research project organized by the Swedish Rock Art Research Archives (SHFA) in Tanum, Sweden. The project was set up to provide a detailed chronological evaluation and interpretation of a Scandinavian rock art region. Through Ulf Bertilsson the SHFA has been running a documentation project in south-east Scania for many years, and the present project is indebted to these efforts that have concentrated on the larger Simrishamn 23:1 and Järrestad 13:1 sites.

At an early stage it was noted that, in order to work with the region as whole and not specific sites, there was a need for additional documentation of the smaller sites that have not been in focus in earlier research. Therefore the reputable rock art surveyors Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam were attached to the project.

The following sites were visited and documented together with Broström and Ihrestam: Gladsax 8:1, 9:4, 90:1, Simrishamn 2:1, 12:1, 16:1, 18:1, 20:1, 22:1, 29, 45 and Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1. Broström and Ihrestam were in charge of the actual documentation and for a detailed account the reader is referred to their reports (Broström and Ihrestam 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c).

When the individual motifs had been identified, sometimes using light at night-time, they were painted with limewash and then the motifs were transferred to plastic film. Later on the plastic film was reduced in scale and transferred to paper. The documentation was supplemented by written descriptions and photos.

An additional but important outcome of this documentation project was the possibility to visit and discuss rock art panels with colleagues who have extensive experience of rock art surveying. My understanding of specific motifs and their setting on the panels, and the wider landscape context, has improved thanks to this joint project. In addition to the drawn documentation, the photographs taken of the motifs painted with limewash are also an important source material, and some of these are included in this book.

The author himself has also visited and taken notes of all those sites that contribute to the chronological scheme visualized in Figure 2.36.

Based on records provided by the Archaeological Sites and Monuments database www.fmis.se (often referred to simply as FMIS or Fornsök) a

database was set up which is the foundation for the distribution maps of rock art panels displayed in the book. Throughout the book there will be references to individual sites using the name of a parish followed by a number; for example Järrestad 13:1. This way of organizing archaeological sites and monuments has a long tradition in Sweden and it refers directly to the National Heritage Board's database FMIS.

Rock art chronology

According to the recent chronologies, rock art was produced in south Scandinavia for a period of some 1,500 years from 1700 BC to 200 BC (Kaul 1998; Ling 2008). Thus chronology is a major obstacle when interpreting rock art images. As some of the open-air sites were used repeatedly for a period sometimes approaching 1,500 years, it is sometimes difficult to work out which images are contemporary. To overcome this problem, depictions on the rock carvings have been compared to metal items that are associated by find context with the chronological scheme worked out by Oscar Montelius in the 1880s (Ekholm 1916, 1921; Almgren 1927; Fett and Fett 1941; Althin 1945; Marstrander 1963; Glob 1969; Mandt, 1991; Rostholm 1972; Malmer 1981; Kaul 1998, 2003, 2004, 2006; Sognnes 1993, 2001; Nordenborg Myhre 2004).

Even though this research tradition goes far back in time, it is only recently that we have witnessed larger and systematic studies dealing with rock art chronology. One such study was carried out by Flemming Kaul on 419 metal items from present-day Denmark, on which about 800 ship images were found. By comparing ship images on metal and rock carvings Kaul was able to develop and improve earlier ship chronologies based on smaller samples (Kaul 1998). Kaul's chronology has since been confirmed through studies by Johan Ling, who related rock-carving ships in the provinces of Bohuslän and Uppland in Sweden to the shore displacement (Ling 2008, 2013). Since ships are a major theme in most Scandinavian rock carvings, there consequently exist today better possibilities to date the rock art images.

Both Kaul (1998) and Ling (2008, 2013) emphasize the importance of the prows and the keel feature for the dating of the ship. The prows are inturned in earlier periods, but later, in Montelius' periods II–III, they begin to turn out and end in animal heads, a tendency that becomes even more pronounced in the subsequent periods. Perhaps even more important than the prows is the outline of the keel extension. A keel extension that is fairly horizontal or slightly upturned is a typical feature in Montelius' periods I–III, while a higher and vertically raised keel extension occurs in the later periods (Fig. 1.3).

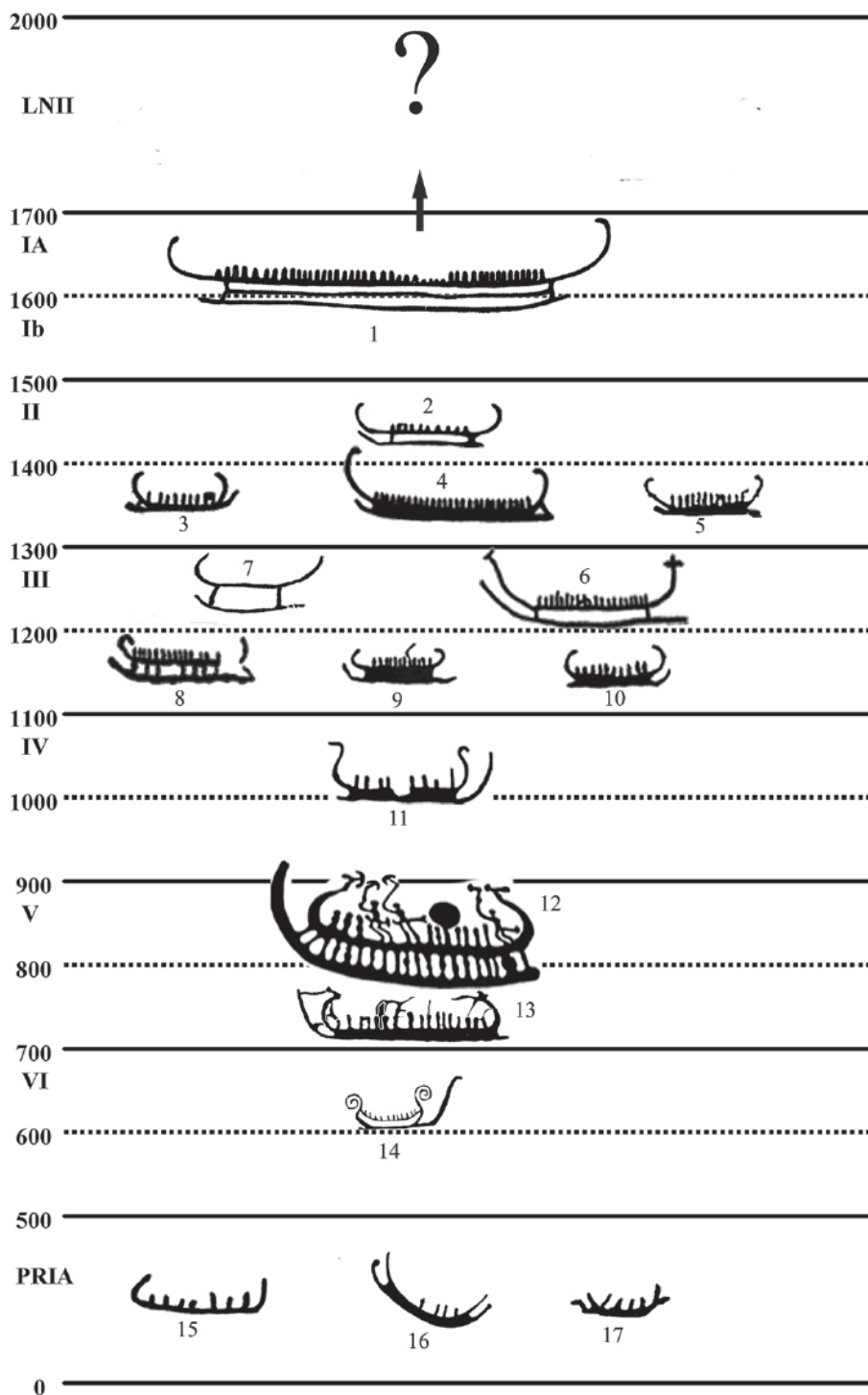


Figure 1.3. Johan Ling's chronology based on studies of ship images in Tanum, Sweden. Ship images with inward prows dominate during the Early Bronze Age c. 1700–1100 BC, while outward-turned prows ending in animal heads are characteristic of the Late Bronze Age, 1100–500 BC and symmetrical ship images are typical of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age 500–200 BC. From Ling 2008: 105.

During Montelius' period VI and the subsequent Pre-Roman Iron Age the asymmetrical ships were replaced by symmetrical ships, some of which closely resemble the Hjortspring ship. The elaborate animal heads at the end of the ships disappear and there seem to be a greater focus on functionality (Bengtsson 2013).

In this study the updated chronology as presented by Kaul and Ling is a foundation for the chronological discussions. However, the conclusions are not only based on ship chronology, but also on a wider study of features on the rock art panels that can be related to objects known from the archaeological record; among these images of axes play an important role.

Due to the insignificant shore displacement in this part of Sweden, it has not been possible to use a study of these processes in order to estimate the age of individual panels and images. In the Early Bronze Age the sea stood about two metres higher than today (Mörner *et al.* 2009).

Time and periodization

Archaeology is a historical science and a major focus is the study of historical processes. In these respects archaeology is a product of a greater concern in 19th-century thinking where scholars like Charles Darwin and Karl Marx regarded history as a sequence of periods each with its own characteristics.

In the discipline of archaeology Oscar Montelius' groundbreaking work on the chronology of the Scandinavian metalwork stands as an archaeological contribution to this tradition (1885). Based on a thorough study of the combinations of metal objects occurring in closed finds such as graves and hoards, he was able to divide the Scandinavian Bronze Age into six periods. Moreover by cross-dating he established an absolute chronology in which, according to him, the Bronze Age started c. 1500 BC and each period covered around 200 years.

In archaeology, periodization is sometimes regarded as a process we need to undertake because we lack precise data on chronology. In contrast to this, I regard periodization as an analytical tool we should use consciously to understand history. In order to apprehend history we must create divisions in the flow of events that unfold through time.

By doing this we use our archaeological knowledge to design a theoretically motivated contemporaneity between similar kinds of objects which in real life are separated by years, decades or even centuries. We create an artificial encounter, inside which various aspects can be understood and studied as a system. The idea is that similar phenomenon can be understood and explained against a similar background. Thus the scientific study of history is a compromise between encounters of contemporaneity and moments of change.

This way of ordering the material has a philosophical dimension that touches upon why the study of history is important. To understand the preconditions for human life we must study humans both as being parts of structures, and also as being involved in processes that help to transgress these structures (Giddens 1984). Both these processes reveal themselves in the study of history as a compromise between encounters of contemporaneity and moments of change.

If we accept that periodization is an analytical tool, it follows that each periodization must be grounded in the material that is under study. Montelius' chronology has had a very strong impact on Scandinavian Bronze Age research, which goes far beyond its analytical value as a tool for determining the age of metal objects. It has set a standard for an overall chronological understanding of the Scandinavian Bronze Age. However, as new data have accumulated, the dominant position of Montelius' chronological scheme has become a kind of straitjacket.

When discussing houses, settlements and cultural landscapes, ^{14}C dates are often translated into Montelius' six-period scheme, which results in a skewed picture where nuances in the original material are lost. A similar situation is at hand in rock art, which is even more closely connected to Montelius' periodization, as individual motifs are dated by comparison to metal objects, or motifs found on metalwork.

Thus it is important to note that the use of Montelius' six-period system in rock art studies – and the comparison between rock art images and datable images in metalwork – is not a goal in itself, but a working tool helping us to gain a further understanding of rock art chronology.

Optimally, a periodization of rock art motifs should be based on similarities and differences in the rock art material itself. This is a vision for the future rather than a programme to be implemented at the moment. However, I think it is important to try to move away from Montelius' periodization, also relating changes in the Scandinavian rock art tradition to European chronologies, partly based on more precise dating methods such as dendrochronology and cross-datings with a revised Mediterranean Bronze Age chronology.

Reading landscapes through excavations

The new data that have emerged during recent years concerning rock art chronologies enable us to integrate rock art into a wider discussion of continuity and change in the cultural landscape.

Since the 1990s there has been a focus on landscapes as something as perceived by people – i.e. a symbolic space (cf. Tilley 1994, 2004). This perspective has contributed to a new understanding of landscapes where

ideological aspects are in focus. However, this phenomenological approach tends to be ahistorical – landscapes are often ascribed values deriving from the present-day observer, rather than characteristics that can be deduced from the archaeological material.

Furthermore, if we want to study landscape in order to explain historical change we need a social approach to landscapes. A social approach to landscapes may have various beginnings; in this study it takes its starting point in the observation that certain places acted as meeting places for a larger group of people. It is postulated that these places were important nodes in the landscape; where social norms and values were reinforced and renegotiated by the actions of people participating in joint projects. To identify these places and understand their role in a social and historical context is thus crucial (cf. Bertilsson 1987).

Cultural landscape change has often been discussed from a palaeo-botanical point of view where changes in the vegetation have helped to define landscape pattern and processes (Berglund *et al.* 1991). The archaeological record is by its very nature much more localized than palaeobotanical data, and therefore the study of larger trends and processes in the landscape has been hampered. Today, however, there is a large number of expertly excavated Bronze Age settlements in Scania (Björhem and Säfvestad 1993; Björhem and Magnusson Staaf 2006; Tesch 1993). There is good knowledge of the general layout and dating of specific house types, and recently the organization of several settlements into settlement clusters or villages has been studied in detail (Artursson 2009).

In contrast, diachronic studies focusing on changes in settlement layout, including the position of the houses and their relation to surrounding negative features, have been a largely neglected study area except for some detailed local studies (Björhem and Magnusson Staaf 2006). Of course, a discussion of settlement phases is an important part of any major archaeological report dealing with settlements, but the problem is that these are restricted to the excavation *per se* while regional surveys are lacking.

The aim of one of the chapters included in this study is to discuss Bronze Age settlements, graves and gathering places in Scania, in a diachronic landscape perspective, focusing on those periods when the organization of the cultural landscape underwent profound changes. This is not a goal in itself, but the underlying idea is that changes in settlement pattern and burial tradition are significant if we want to understand how and why society changed during the south Scandinavian Bronze Age. Cultural landscape changes may thereby be used as an interpretive tool, enabling new perspectives concerning issues such as the establishment and abandonment of rock art sites.

The approach taken here is based on fairly new data emerging as a result of the last 10–20 years of large-scale excavations in Scania: the Öresund Fixed Link Project (Björhem and Magnusson Staaf 2006), the Väst kustbanan Project

(Lagerås and Strömberg 2005 eds.) and the E22 Project are the most important ones (Artursson 2007 ed.). These projects have also produced a lot of excavations reports, with information that significantly adds to the knowledge of the Scanian landscape in the Bronze Age. The ambition has been to integrate as much as possible of this information, even though no total overview of the extensive literature has been conducted.

Having said this, I also want to acknowledge the importance of earlier rather detailed regional studies of graves and burial traditions conducted by scholars like Inger Håkansson, Thomas B. Larsson and Kristina Jennbert in the 1980s and early 1990s (Håkansson 1985; Larsson 1986; Jennbert 1992).

There are biases in the data, as the discussion concerning settlements pattern and burial traditions is based on Scanian evidence in general, whereas the rock art study, due to the liminal distribution of figurative sites, concerns only south-east Scania. However, the landscape periods and turning points identified in this study should be seen as a model with relevance for the whole of Scania. The changes identified in this study are related to changes on a broader spatial scale, including central and northern Europe, which is an indication of the broader relevance of the conclusion drawn in the landscape study.

Interpreting rock art

Rock art images are signs in the sense that they refer to something outside themselves. In the context of rock art, a circle image is not just a circular line, but a symbol which was made because it represented aspects of human ideas and experiences. The difficulty is in understanding these signs, and knowing what analytical tools can be used to put rock art in an interpretative framework.

Ritual is an important theme in many archaeological studies, and especially the work of Catherine Bell has renewed ritual studies in archaeology (1992). A governing theme is that while we can never gain insight into the ideas of prehistoric people, we may arrive at an understanding of their rituals by studying material remains from a practice perspective (Berggren and Nilsson Stutz 2010).

This has stimulated research on monuments (Gröhn 2004), burials (Nilsson Stutz 2003) and ritual deposits (Berggren 2010), and it has been successfully applied to rock art in burial contexts (Goldhahn 1999). The focus on rituals, instead of prehistoric religion and world-views, is a reaction against interpretations where actual meanings are ascribed to objects and images. This perspective has been labelled the 'the representationist paradigm' and has been criticized for reducing the variety in the archaeological sources to an objective document concerning prehistory (Hamilakis 2002: 100).

However, the focus on rituals leaves out those archaeological remains that are not related to contexts where different actions can be detected and discussed. For example, artefacts lacking accounts of find conditions, and many examples of open-air rock art that cannot be related to a larger ritual context, are thus difficult to discuss from a practice perspective.

The starting point in the interpretative framework applied in this book is the view that much of south Scandinavian rock art is representational and was inspired by contemporary material culture. However, we should not expect a straightforward relationship between observations and images; motifs were sometimes composed out of details from different contexts. Even so, the motifs were, to a varying degree, based on actual interpretations of the surrounding environment.

This phenomenon is illustrated by the relationship between ards depicted on rock panels and preserved wooden ards found in bogs. When comparing these two sources of information it is obvious that the people who made the ards on the rock art used their knowledge of existing wooden ards to produce the rock art image. Different types of ards known from the archaeological record can be detected in rock art (Glob 1951; Bradley 2005; Skoglund 2008).

Rock art images are thus composed out of observations from reality, but these pieces of information are used to create images that are logical according to a specific rock art format, and not according to how the real world is constructed. If we want to gain an understanding of these motifs – based on an archaeological and contextual approach – we must begin by trying to understand what kinds of observations that inspired the making of these motifs.

Any interpretation of figurative images therefore revolves around relationships with other kinds of materiality. Ship images may be interpreted by exploring relationships between images of ships in rock art and images of ships in metalwork (Kaul 1998; Bradley 2008; Bradley *et al.* 2010) or representations of ships in rock art may be compared to monumental stone ships and preserved wooden ships (Skoglund and Wehlin 2013).

The outlined dialectics between different contexts and materials should not be used to produce interpretations that disregard the differences between various frameworks. If we take the Bronze Age ship image as an example, the idea in this study is not to make homogenous interpretations by mixing different contexts displaying this symbol, but rather to study what happened to ship symbolism when it was applied to different situations and materials.

The ordering of images

A characteristic of rock art is that images often are arranged in clusters. The arrangements of images in clusters is not done casually but according to

certain codes or rules. There seem to be various kinds of symbols, representing different aspects that could only be combined under certain conditions. Studies by Jarl Nordbladh (1980) and Katherine Hauptman Wahlgren (2002) seem to imply the existence of two different structures consisting of different sets of symbols.

There are general symbols such as cup-marks and ships occurring in many different contexts, and there are specific symbols such as human images, weapons, circle images and foot soles that are primarily – but not always – related to a restricted number of certain motifs.

In the Norrköping area, Katherine Hauptman Wahlgren has identified two groups of motifs that only partly overlap. One cluster focuses on the foot sole which often is combined with various kinds of circle motifs. The other group focuses on human images which are primarily combined with spears and swords but also with animals and axes. Foot soles and human images may be combined, however, but this only happens when there are four, or even more, kinds of figures combined at the same site (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002: 118–122).

Interestingly, a similar pattern emerged from Jarl Nordbladh's study of rock carvings at Kville in Bohuslän and in Uppland (1980: 35–38, 62–63). In both these regions there was a pattern in which foot soles and human images represented two different spheres of interaction, and it was only on sites containing four different motifs or more that foot soles and human images were combined. From these observations one may draw the conclusion that foot soles and humans represented different aspects of a symbolic universe, and that they could only be combined in certain conditions.

In contrast to images that have restricted combinations with other motifs we have the most common image – the ship – that is represented in both spheres. Following Sherry Ortner's work on key symbols (1973), and also Ylva Sjöstrand, who has applied Ortner's perspective in her interpretation of the northern Scandinavian rock art tradition (2011), it seems reasonable to regard the ship as a key symbol, in line with a present-day symbol like a flag or a cross.

Key symbols have many characteristics. One is that they can be used in many various contexts and situations, they are able to summarize many different aspects in one symbol (the flag may represent the nation, the inhabitants of the country, the history of the nation etc.). However, these symbols may also be used in different strategies in order to underline certain aspects of the symbol. A flag used at an international sport event represents an including event, which is different from a flag being used by a small political faction who use it to set up a distinction between different groups of people.

From these perspectives we gain an insight into the syntax of rock art motifs. Motifs like human images and foot soles probably represented different and partly contradictory meanings, and most often they were not combined. However, these motifs could be combined in certain circumstances

when a large number of different motifs were combined on the same panel. The ships occupied a crucial position. The ship was a key symbol that could be elaborated and adjusted for different kinds of contexts. The ship thus acted as a mediator between the different clusters of motifs that are represented by the human images and the foot soles.

Images and narratives

Narration is one aspect that has been discussed in relation to Scandinavian rock art by various researchers (Fredell 2002, 2003; Skoglund 2010; Johannsen 2013; Melheim 2013). There are many definitions of what constitutes a narrative; but the majority of scholars argue that a narrative requires a character and a plot – i.e. a sequence of actions which results in a change.

From this definition of a narrative the majority of images would fail to qualify as narratives because of difficulties in presenting time in visual art. In order to understand these difficulties we may distinguish between *temporal media* and *spatial media*. Temporal media require the recipient to begin at a pre-defined beginning like the opening shots of a film, the concert overture or the rising curtain at the theatre. From this point the public will have to follow the temporal unfolding to the prescribed end. Spatial media, on the other hand, have no defined starting point: media such as architecture, sculpture and paintings have multiple beginnings. For example there is no common temporal order in which to apprehend the various scenes displayed on a painting (Speidel 2013: 188).

Having said this, it is also true that many scholars would agree that images have a narrative potential. By the use of size, framing, colour and position the painter can direct the eye of the observer in a certain direction and thereby sequence different events. An example is the works of the Dutch 16th-century painter Pieter Breughel. In his paintings the viewer will often make one or several significant discoveries, one after each other, and putting them together will make up a story (Speidel 2013: 189–190).

One way of thinking about narratives, which may fit better into visual art than operating with the concept of a plot, is the notion of action and character (Thomas 2013). These concepts have been elaborated by Rick Altman, who argues that without action we have pictures but no narratives. Actions are like verbs creating contact among the separate nouns populating a narrative. In a similar way to the verb, action displayed in images relates different motifs to each other and creates a narrative (2008).

Narratives also require a character which is the sum of different aspects presented in different images. Thinking of a cartoon, a character viewed from the front in frame one is the same as the character viewed from the side in

frame two. Neither of these taken alone defines the character, but both frames refer to the one and same character, which requires a level of abstraction (Altman 2008: 13).

Thus the character is created out of two different scenes in a similar way as action requires two images. Here a third concept is useful, namely, following. It is a characteristic of narratives that it involves following a character from action to action and from scene to scene. Without following there is only chaos, with a potential to produce narratives, but not yet doing so. It is when someone starts to follow a character from scene to scene that something will be recognized as a narrative (Altman 2008: 14).

However, pictures may also be narrative in a rather different way, as a single image can refer to a narrative known by the viewer from other kinds of media. For example, an image of Jesus on the cross will refer to the story of Christ being crucified as known from the Bible. In this case it is the intermedial reference that relates this image to a narrative framework (Wolf 2005: 431–435).

There are thus two rather different ways in which an image may be narrative: the display of a character that the viewer can follow from one scene to another and the potential of images to evoke an intermedial reference to a story already known by the viewer. The many ways an image may be narrative are reflected in the various ways of categorizing images that have been proposed by various scholars (Dehejia 1990, 1991; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999: Chapter 1; Wolf 2005: 431–435).

In the study of Greek art this tradition of categorization goes back to the late 19th century when various types of narrative schemes were introduced (Robert 1881). These schemes have since been discussed, modified, and supplemented; an older tripartite division where pictorial narratives proceeded from simpler to more complex schemes has been questioned. What remains is a notion that different pictorial narratives use different ways of presenting temporality: defining categories of narratives help us to identify these differences and make it possible to discuss them in a comparative perspective (Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999: Chapter 1).

Returning to rock art and narratives, there seems to be great variety in the ways motifs are composed together in order to display narratives, and there are examples which do not obey any linear arrangements (Fredell 2002; Skoglund 2010; Melheim 2013). In this way Scandinavian rock art may have traits in common with visual narratives from other parts of the globe. For example, when it is possible to compare early Buddhist art in India with written accounts it often happens that the arrangements of the scenes are not according to the order known from the written sources, but may take on many various forms. In her discussion of visual narration in early Buddhist art, Vidya Dehejia identifies four modes of presenting a narrative (1990, 1991).

Among the different kinds of narrative schemes, the *monoscenic* narrative is the simplest way to introduce a narrative: this mode centres on a single

occasion in a story, it is usually an easily identifiable event and it serves as a reference to a narrative. This system functions well when the larger story is known to the public (Dehejia 1990: 378).

In the *synoptic* narrative multiple episodes from a story are depicted, but their temporal sequence is not communicated, and there is no wish to express either causality or temporality. Rather than putting elements together, a whole is given, and it has to be taken apart in order to be intelligible (Dehejia 1990: 382–383).

The *continuous* narrative depicts successive episodes of a story within a single frame where the protagonist is repeated in the course of the narrative. Consecutive time frames are presented within a single visual field, without dividers to distinguish one episode from the other. The comprehension of a continuous narrative requires awareness that more than one moment is presented within the one visual field. The continuous narrative make time visible by comparing the same person or object in different movements or states (Dehejia 1990: 385).

Finally, there is the *linear* narrative, which, like the continuous narrative, contains the repeated appearance of the protagonist at different times and places. In contrast to the continuous narrative, which operates by intrinsic criteria requiring an integrated effort by the mind and the eye, the linear narrative operates by extrinsic criteria where compositional means – usually frames – are used to demarcate temporal divisions. Each scene is a unit in itself and each event occurs at one particular moment, in one particular space (Dehejia 1990: 386).

Later in this book these different ways of presenting a narrative will be related to the rock art corpus in south-east Scania.

Outline of this study

This study is divided into several parts; after this introduction chapter follows a chapter on chronology. The rock art chronology in this study is structured in four phases:

- Phase 1, 1700–1400 BC
- Phase 2, 1400–1100 BC
- Phase 3, 1100–800 BC
- Phase 4, 800–200 BC

In the chapter on chronology the arguments for dividing the rock art in south-east Scania into four phases are presented and discussed. These divisions are labelled phases (Arabic numbers) and they should not be confused with the six periods of the Bronze Age put forward by Oscar Montelius. The six periods of Montelius are labelled periods (Roman numbers) and the following

numbers give a rough estimation of their time span:

- Period I, 1700–1500 BC
- Period II, 1500–1300 BC
- Period III, 1300–1100 BC
- Period IV, 1100–900 BC
- Period V, 900–700 BC
- Period VI, 700–500 BC

The next chapter uses the regional rock art chronological framework to gain a profounder understanding of each of the defined periods; a basic premise is that each of these periods had its own characteristics that can be understood against the background of contemporary society.

In the next chapter the same periodization is applied to the Scanian Bronze Age landscape, which is discussed using evidence from modern contract archaeology. The evidence from settlements, burial grounds and gathering places is reviewed and special focus is applied to the organization of the landscape. Of special concern is the organization of different elements in the landscape and whether this changed according to the periodization of the rock art tradition.

The book ends with a short concluding chapter.

Chapter 2

The chronological framework

The data – an overview

Altogether, the data consist of 27 sites, at which 1,161 motifs have been found, and these have been categorized into 16 classes. Four of these classes are non-representational and these include the following categories: depression, furrow, dotted area and others. The category ‘others’ refer to fragments or motifs that could not be given a more precise interpretation.

The remaining 645 motifs were divided into 12 classes, some of which contain many motifs and some very few. Feet (208), ships (195), axes (97), human images (50) and circle images (53) dominate, making up the bulk of the motifs. Then there are horses (19), chariots (7), riders (6) and spirals (5), which are few in numbers, but still occur on different panels. Finally there are mantles (2) and frames (2) and a hand motif (1), which are few in number, occurring at only on one or two sites.

In the following the 12 classes of 645 representational motifs will be discussed from a chronological perspective, in order to gain an understanding of the development of the rock art tradition in south-east Scania through time.

Phase 1, 1700–1400 BC

The beginning of the rock art tradition is defined by the occurrence of axes resembling types that were in use during Late Neolithic II and Montelius’ period I of the Bronze Age, *c.* 1950–1500 BC (Fig. 2.1) (Vandkilde 1996). These kinds of axes occur on four sites, namely, Simrishamn 15:1, 16:1, 18:1 and 23:1, and the largest concentration is to be found on the latter site (Althin 1945: Taf. 1).

As pointed out by Bertil Almgren, the axe images have counterparts in metal axes known from the archaeological record. Almgren’s conclusion works on a general level but a look at details shows that the picture is of course more complicated. For example, the blades sometimes seem to be

overstated, with a tendency to exaggerate the cutting edge and its tips.

Almgren divided these axes into two groups: one with extended pointed edges on either side of the blade often hafted in a slightly bent shaft (the Beddinge type) and another type with a less pronounced blade often hafted in a straight shaft (the Pile type) (1987: 38). While the Pile type of axe is too general in shape to allow any precise ideas about chronology, the Beddinge type of axe has traits making it possible to discuss it in relation to rather specific axe types.

The Beddinge type of axes has also been compared to the unique find from Borrby (Figs 2.2, 2.3) (Skoglund 2005: 111–114). However, the axes at Simrishamn 15:1 and 23:1 have a body displaying a slender curvature, which does not correspond to the axe from Borrby with its rather triangular outline. Moreover, the pointed edges on the Borrby axe point backwards at a sharp angle, while the pointed edges on the axes displayed on the panels are extensions of the blade with a less sharp angle. Following Almgren (1987: 38), and also Montelius (1900: 76), we should regard these types of axes as similar to the Beddinge type and not to the Borrby type of axes.

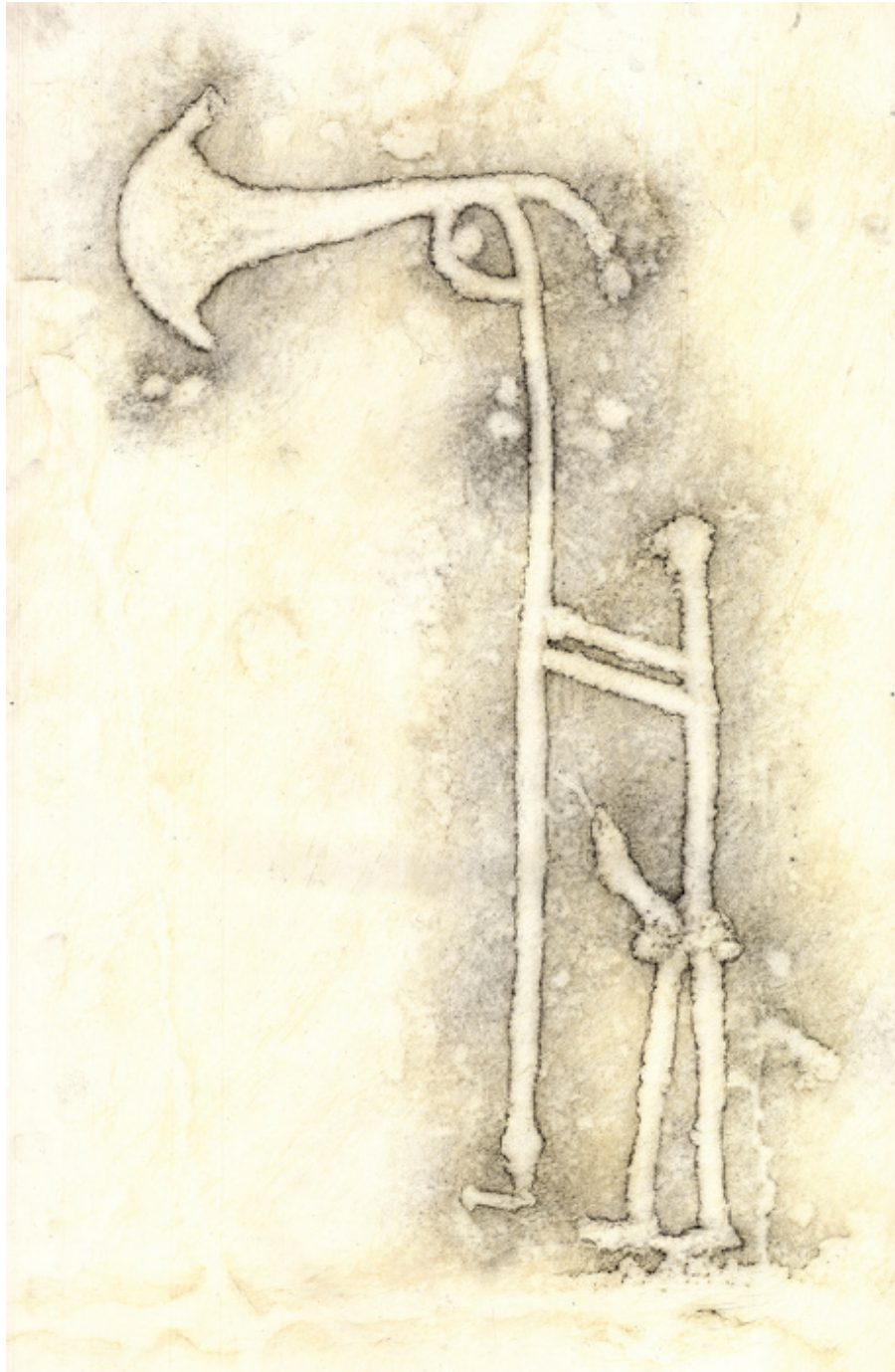


Figure 2.1. Axe from the Simrishamn 23:1 site in one-to-one size carried by a miniature human. Rubbing by Dietrich Evers. SHDA id: 2356.

Montelius dated the Beddinge type of axes to Montelius' period I, but the chronology of the earliest Bronze Age has been revised, and many types of

axes previously thought of as belonging to Montelius' period I are today placed in the Late Neolithic II (Vandkilde 1996).

However, axes with slightly pointed edges also occur in the Fjälkinge hoard in north-east Scania, which Helle Vandkilde defined as axes of a pseudo-Irish type (Fig. 2.4). These axes resemble contemporary Irish axes (Megaw and Hardy 1938: Plate LV, LIV), which were in use during the Arretton phase (Vandkilde type A8; Vandkilde 1996: 83–85).

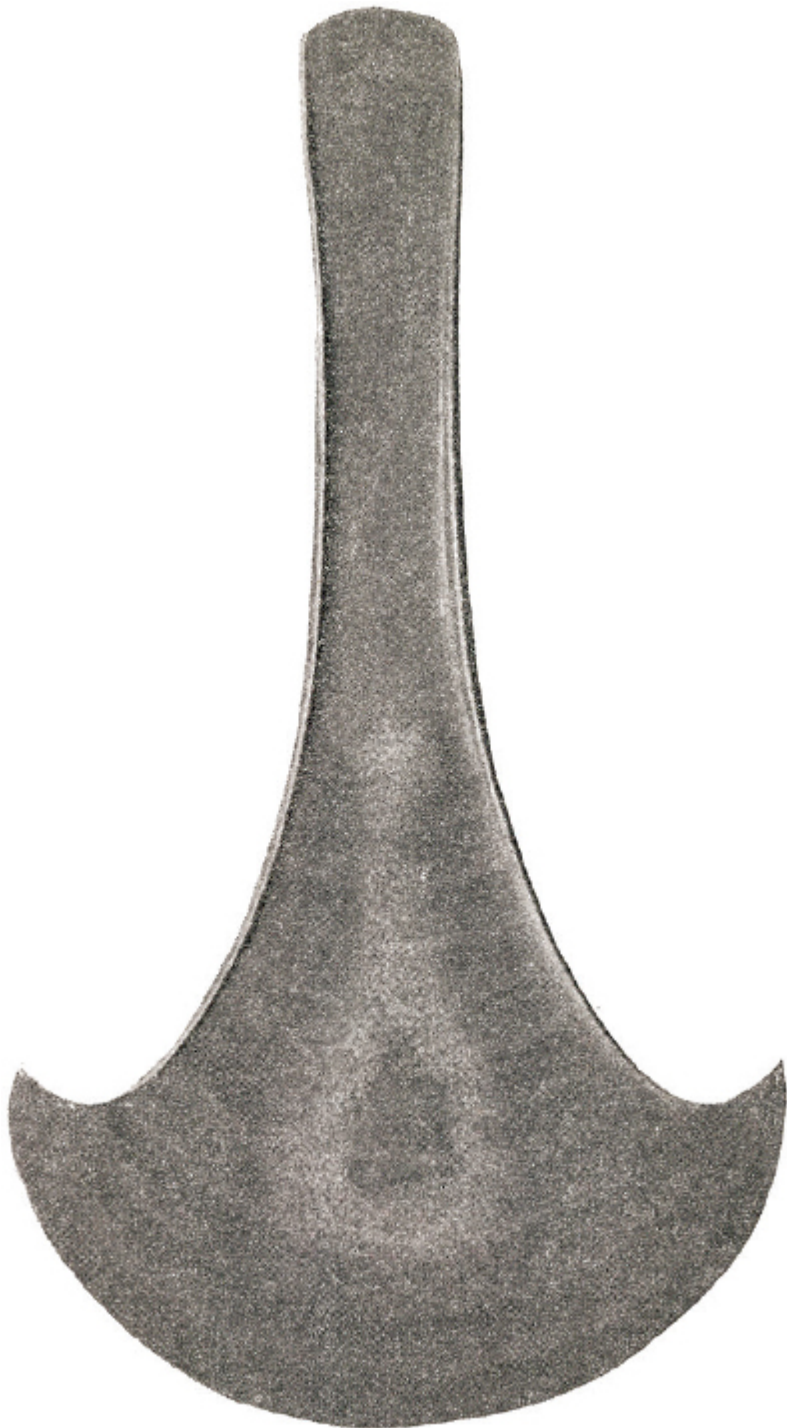


Figure 2.2. Axe from Lilla Beddinge, south Scania; this axe was found together with another one of a similar type close to the sea. From Montelius 1922: 49.

The Fjälkinge find also includes an unusual low-flanged axe with a

counterpart in the central German hoard of Kläden. Based on this particular axe, Vandkilde dated the Fjälkinge hoard very late in the sequence of Late Neolithic II hoards (Vandkilde 1996: 148–149). Late Neolithic II covers the time span 1950–1700 BC. A dating of the Fjälkinge hoard to *c.* 1700 BC thus seems reasonable.

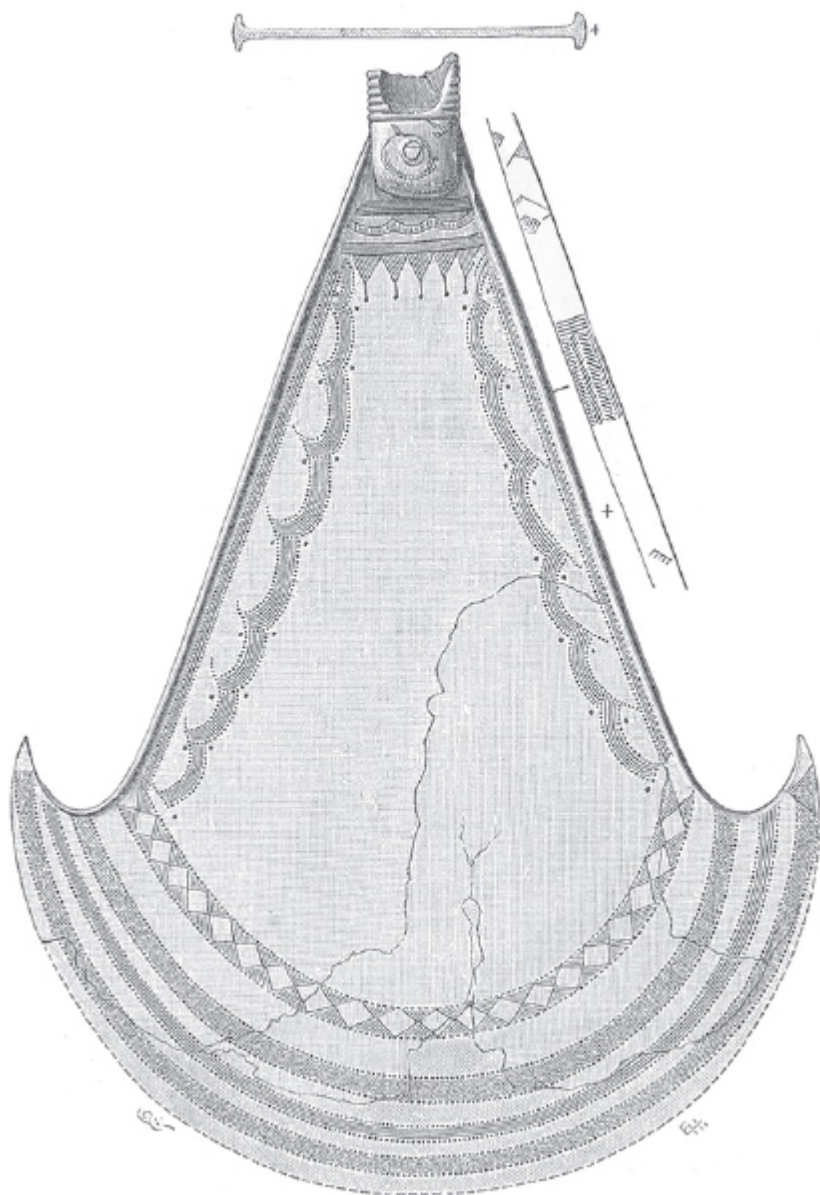


Figure 2.3. Axe from Borrby, southeast Scania. From Montelius 1922: 52.



Figure 2.4. Axes from the Fjälkinge hoard in north-east Scania. Photo: Sara Kusmin, SHMM.

Another observation is that among the Beddinge type of axes there are different ‘sub-groups’ and there are a couple of axe images showing similarities to axes occurring on either side of the English Channel and dating to the Arreton phase (Megaw and Hardy 1938; Blanchet 1984). The dating of the English Arreton phase is set at 1750–1500 BC, which corresponds well to the dating of the Fjälkinge hoard to *c.* 1700 BC.

Furthermore, this phase includes ships of the Rørby type which occur in close association with axes of the Beddinge type. The Rørby ships are characterized by a horizontal or slightly upturned keel extension and significantly inturned prows. This kind of ship occurs on the Rørby sword which is dated to 1600–1500 BC (Kaul 1998: 73–79). However, the Rørby sword only provides a *terminus ante quem* dating of this type of ship.

In his study of the ship images in relation to the land-uplift process in Bohuslän, Johan Ling concludes that none of the localities with ships of the Rørby type are situated below 19 m.a.s.l. According to Ling, this observation may indicate that these images were made before the Bronze Age, presumably during the Late Neolithic. However, when summing up the discussion, he sets the start of the Rørby type of ship at *c.* 1700 BC (Ling 2008: 101–103).

In conclusion, there seem to be arguments for dating both the oldest axe images and the oldest ship images to *c.* 1700 BC. However, it should be admitted that there are problems in defining the very start of the Scanian rock art tradition. If, for example, axes were circulated for a longer period of time, it would be possible to argue for a start of axe motifs around 1600 BC, which also would fit with the dating of the Rørby sword. When the start of phase 1 is set at 1700 BC, this should consequently be viewed as a preliminary estimation, based on data that partly reveal contradictory results.

In this phase there are also chariots, something which is not discussed very much in the literature. At least two clearly depicted chariots can be seen at Simrishamn 23:1 in close connection to ships and axes dating to phase 1. In one of these case it is possible – by using Dietrich Evers’ documentation to identify all the main components of a chariot including the wheels, the axle, the pole, the pole stay and possibly the yoke (Fig. 2.5). The chariot has parallels in representations of chariots from the Aegean (Randsborg 2010: 63).

This type of chariot with a pole stay is different from the more famous Kivik example, not only because of the pole stay which is lacking in Kivik, but also because it is not drawn by horses. The latter observation has bearing on chronology, as the horse as an iconographic image occurs in south Scandinavia around 1400 BC (Kaul 2013a, 2013b). On this basis we may conclude that this type of chariot, depicted without the horses, is roughly contemporary with the axes of the Beddinge type and the Rørby ships. This is strengthened by the fact that one of these chariots occurs in a composition together with two axes of Late Neolithic II – Montelius’ period I dating and a ship of the Rørby type.



Figure 2.5. Chariot at Simrishamn 23:1 as documented by Dietrich Evers. Rubbing: Dietrich Evers. SHFA Id: 3008.

A number of other images can be associated with phase 1. In five cases people are directly associated with axes of the Beddinge type and were thus made very early in the rock art tradition. These human images are straight and slender and have a phallus. Apart from the axe which they carry in their hands there are no further objects associated with them (Fig. 2.1).

Based on the close spatial association between various kinds of circle

images on the one hand and on the other hand Rørby ships and axes of the Beddinge type, we may conclude that crosses in circles, circle images marked by a line, and hollowed-out circle images were introduced during phase 1. A similar notion concerning the dating of the wheel cross was made by Johan Ling in his study of rock art in Bohuslän (Ling 2008: 154).

Finally it should be mentioned that it is reasonable to believe that hollowed-out feet images were introduced during this phase, and continued to be made during the subsequent phase. The reason for this assumption will be discussed in the next section.

In summary, this phase is characterized by axes of the Beddinge type and other kinds of flanged axes, ships of the Rørby type, human images with phalluses and axes, chariots which are not drawn by horses, hollowed-out feet images and various circle images.

Phase 2, 1400–1100 BC

The start of this phase is marked by the introduction of the horse motif in Scandinavian Bronze Age iconography. It should be noted that the horse as a draught animal was present already in the earlier phase, as indicated by rare finds of bridle cheek-pieces and ferrules, possibly belonging to the horse-chariot domain (Vandkilde 2014). What happened around 1400 BC was that the horse gained a stronger position in rituals and became commonly reproduced in iconography.

The rather precise dating of the horse motif in iconography is based on similarities between razors with horses' heads from Scandinavia and contemporary Greek razors. As recently argued by Flemming Kaul, the more widespread significance of the horse in rituals entered Scandinavia as part of a 'Mediterranean package' around 1400 BC (Kaul 2013a, 2013b: 157).

The introduction of the horse motif is thereby associated with an advanced stage of Montelius' period II characterized by a broad variety of bronze items and the classical well-preserved Danish oak cist graves – a majority of which can be dated to a quite narrow time span c. 1400–1330 BC (Randsborg 2006). The dating of the Nordic asymmetrical razor with horses' head falls into this latter part of Montelius' period II and the subsequent period III.

Clearly the horse was known in south Scandinavia before 1400 BC, but there is no clear evidence of the horse itself being reproduced in rock art or metalwork. Even though it cannot be ruled out that there existed isolated examples of horse images in phase 1 (a possible example would be Simrishamn 16:1), the majority seem to belong to phase 2; and for the sake of clarification it is postulated that the horse images were introduced in rock art c. 1400 BC.

The introduction of the horse motif had consequences for the depictions of

chariots which now – in contrast to the examples discussed above from Simrishamn 23:1 – are displayed drawn by horses as on Kivik slab no. 7 and on the Villfara carving. This dating of the horse motif has implications not only for the dating of the horse images and horse-drawn chariots, but also for ships ending in horses' heads. Based on an analysis of rock art in Uppland, in relation to the land-uplift process, Ling drew the conclusion that these kinds of ships were introduced in a later part of Montelius' period II (Ling 2013: 53–59).

The ships with horses' heads attributed to this period resemble horses' heads on contemporary razors characterized by having the neck stretched forward and carried relatively low, less than 45 degrees from the body, and with the head angled slightly downwards (Fig. 2.6) (Kaul 2004: 291).

There are also many examples of ships from this period lacking horses' heads. When these are made with slightly upturned keel extensions in the fore, and slightly less inturned prows compared to the Rørby ship, we may conclude that these belong to the current phase. A distinctive feature in comparison to the earlier Rørby ship is the asymmetrical keel extension. A corpus of ship images in a closed context dating to this phase is found on the slabs from the Sagaholm burial outside the city of Jönköping in central Sweden (Goldhahn 1999).

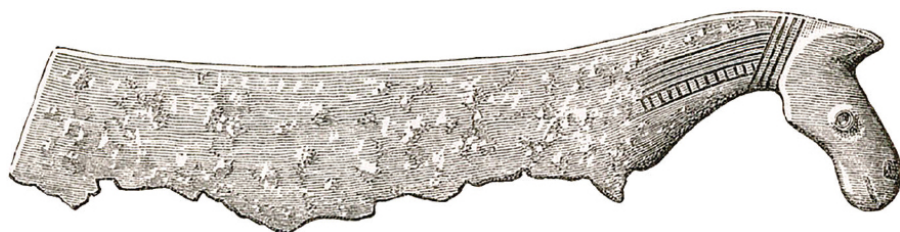


Figure 2.6. Razor with horse's head from Montelius' period II, Tygelsjö parish, Scania. From Montelius 1922: 62.

Another feature associated with this phase is the palstave with a general dating to Montelius' period II. A fixed point in time is provided by the palstave found inside the Guldhøj grave in Jutland which is dated by dendrochronology to the late 14th century BC (Fig. 2.7) (Randsborg 2006: 115).

A crucial question is how to differentiate between palstaves and socketed axes when these are presented in rock art. On the palstave, the wooden haft is split in two and fastened on either side of a relatively long metal core, which is a prolongation of the actual axe blade; on the socketed axe, in contrast, the wooden shaft is stuck into a relatively shorter metal socket. Thus, in profile the palstave will get a comparatively long horizontal outline before it comes to the bend downwards. On this basis, and following Nordén in his account of the Norrköping axes (1925: 138), the identification of the axes at Järrestad 13:1 and Gladsax 8:2 as palstaves, and not as socketed axes, is justified.

However, without further explanations Bertil Almgren expressed a different view and regarded them as socketed axes (1987: 59).



Figure 2.7. Palstave from the Guldhøj burial, Jutland. The oak coffin is dated by dendrochronology to the late 14th century BC. Detail extracted from Boye 1896.

In this period there is a change in the way human images are displayed in comparison to the previous period. Before, the bodies were portrayed narrow and straight, but during phase 2 there are also bodies made up of a volume which sometimes is given an S-shape. This is true for the dressed people on the Kivik slab; but also for many of the presumably undressed figures with exposed and slightly bent legs surrounding them (Fig. 2.8). What seems to be a naked human image at Östra Nöbbelöv 129 is done in this S-shaped Kivik style (Fig. 4.9b).



Figure 2.8. Human images in the Kivik carvings, Scania. Rubbing: Dietrich Evers. SHFA id: 3009.

Finally, I have chosen to attribute hollowed-out feet, with and without marked toes, to phase 1 and phase 2.

At Östra Nöbbelöv 129 hollowed-out feet occur in a phase 2 context lacking motifs from other phases. Another concern is the spatial relationship between palstaves and feet with toes that exist at Järrestad 13:1. The shafts of the three palstaves, which are dated to Montelius' period II, end either with a knob marked by a cup-mark, or, in one case, merging into a sole which has a cup-mark incorporated into the foot (Fig. 2.9).

Another argument for placing the hammered-out feet images in an early part of the Bronze Age is an observation made by Ulf Bertilsson that there are a couple of examples at Järrestad where a foot is made to resemble a flanged axe or possibly a palstave (Bertilsson 2013; Skoglund 2013a). In this case the toes are separated from the rest of the foot, which in size and style is made into an axe with the shaft partly displayed. Flanged axes and palstaves can be attributed to Late Neolithic II and periods I and II of the Bronze Age.

Finally, hollowed-out feet images occur on the top of a large boulder at Gladsax 90:1 together with a ship displaying an inturned prow indicating an Early Bronze Age date (Broström and Ihrestam 2014c) (Figs 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13).



Figure 2.9. Axes interpreted as palstaves in association with images of naked feet at Järrestad 13:1. Photo: Catarina Bertilsson, SHFA id: 3977.

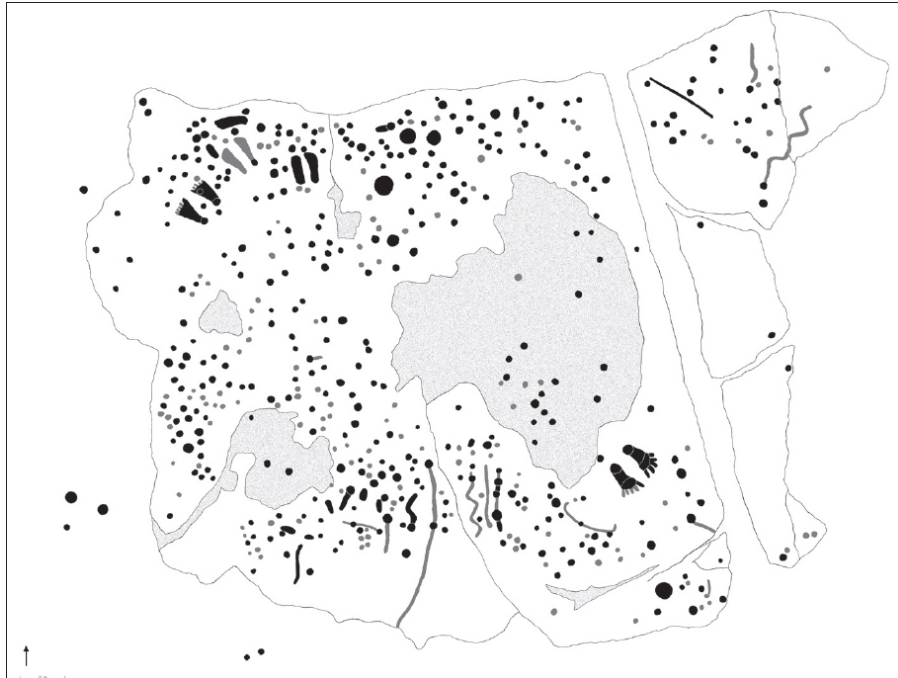


Figure 2.10. Documentation of Gladsax 90:1 by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam. From Broström and Ihrestam 2014c.



Figure 2.11. Photo of the boulder Gladsax 90:1. On the flat upper surface a large number of cup-marks, nine hollowed feet, some spirals and ship image with inturned prows have been identified. Photo: Peter Skoglund.



Figure 2.12. A concentration of seven hollowed-out feet at the Gladsax 90:1 site. Photo: Peter Skoglund.



Figure 2.13. Photo of a pair of hollowed-out feet and associated ship with inturned prow at the Gladsax 90:1 site. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

From these observations I have chosen to attribute hammered out feet to phase 1 and phase 2.

In summary, phase 2 saw the introduction of the horse motif, the horse-drawn chariot, ships with horses' heads, and other kinds of ship images made in the Sagaholm style, and finally the palstave. A new type of S-shaped

human image also occurs on the panels. Among images which continued to be made from the previous period there are primarily various circle images and hollowed-out feet.

Phase 3, 1100–800 BC

This phase is represented on two sites only, where the ships are made in a different style from the previous phase. The prows are raised almost vertically, ending in stylized horses' or rather birds' heads. The keel extension is asymmetrical and rises in the fore (Fig. 2.26). The raised position of the prows and the vertical neck have counterparts in razors (Kaul 1998).

Phase 4, 800–200 BC

This phase is characterized by the introduction of swords with winged chapes, which exist as a unique feature at Järrestad in Scania, but are numerous particularly in Bohuslän and Østfold in western Scandinavia. The significance of the swords with winged chapes has previously been noted by, for example, Sverre Marstrand (1963) and discussed more thoroughly by David Vogt (2006, 2012), but their association with the Hallstatt C0 horizon and their full importance for the dating of Late Bronze Age rock art has not yet been fully comprehended (Figs 2.14, 2.15).

The starting point in this discussion is the outline of the chape which in the Scandinavian rock art material is dominated by boat- or wing-shaped types corresponding to A1–A3 in Pare 1991. As demonstrated by Christopher Pare, these kinds of chapes are exclusively associated with the Gündlingen type of swords (1991). The succeeding Mindelheim sword is associated with a compact bag-shaped chape which is not present in the Scandinavian rock art material. Accepting that the winged chapes in Scandinavian rock art represent Gündlingen swords, there is an interesting relation between these kinds of images and the transition from Hallstatt B to Hallstatt C.

Our understanding of the start of the Hallstatt C horizon has improved thanks to dendrochronology. The key site for dating the beginning of Hallstatt C is the Wehringen wagon burial from Bavaria which is dated by dendrochronology to 778±5 BC. The dating was made on timber from the wagon and the burial chamber (Friedrich and Hennig 1996; Hennig 2001: 259–268). This find includes features typical of both the Urnfield and Hallstatt cultures (Pare 1992), and based on an analysis of the finds in relation to the absolute dating of this grave Friedrich and Hennig proposed a dating to 800 BC for Hallstatt C (Friedrich and Hennig 1996).



Figure 2.14. Human image at Järrestad 13:1 with a sword with winged chape attached to the body. Rubbing: Dietrich Evers. SHFA id: 2350.



Figure 2.15. Human image at Kville, Bohuslän, with a sword with winged chape attached to the body. Photo: Torsten Högberg. SHFA id: 1033.

The Wehringen burial forms part of a transition phase in Bavaria which some scholars label Hallstatt C0, occupying the first half of the eighth century and characterized by the Gündlingen swords and associated chapes (Hennig 2001). Around 750 BC Hallstatt C0 was replaced by Hallstatt C1, associated with the Mindelheim swords and richly elaborated horse gear (Pare 1992: 139–46). This transitional phase, labelled Hallstatt C0, Gündlingen or Wehringen phase, is reckoned not only in Bavaria but in many other parts of Europe as well (Friedrich and Hennig 1996; Jensen 1997; Hennig 2001; Fontijn and Fokkens 2007).

In a Scandinavian perspective these changes are contemporary with late Montelius' period V and early period VI. Jørgen Jensen has demonstrated that there are a handful of Gündlingen swords in Scandinavia which he dates to late in Montelius' period V, thus corresponding to the transitional phase Hallstatt C0 (Jensen 1997: 22, 83–85). According to recent analyses, period V covers the time span 950/920–770/720 BC (Olsen *et al.* 2011, figs 3, 5).

In conclusion, images of swords with winged chapes would have been produced during a period of one or two generations in the decades following 800 BC and terminating at the start of Montelius' period VI.

To phase 4 we should also attribute outlined feet, which in the Simrishamn area occur only at Järrestad. This assumption is based on their spatial relationship to ships dated to Montelius' period V and the Pre-Roman Iron Age, as they sometimes are parts of compositions with ships that can be dated to these periods (Fig. 2.16). However, it should be noted that this conclusion cannot be generalized to other regions. In the Norrköping area, for example, outlined feet occur in contexts dating to the Early Bronze Age (Nordén 1925).



Figure 2.16. Outlined feet at Järrestad 13:1 in association with a ship with fork-like ending. The fork-like ending is a typical trait for the Pre-Roman Iron Age (500–1 BC). Rubbing: SHFA. SHFA id: 276.

To phase 4 we should also attribute the riders found at Järrestad (Fig. 2.17). They resemble riders found on Pomerian face urns, even though they differ in details (Althin 1945: 78; Huth, 2003: Taf. 29, 30, 39). Another association involves the images of people actually sitting on horses, which in Bohuslän are found in contexts that could be dated to the early Pre-Roman Iron Age (Kaul 2003).

Depictions of mounted warriors occur in much of Europe from the 7th century onwards (Renfrew 1998: 282). Even though we cannot rule out an earlier dating of these images, we know from studies of iconography that the horse in Bronze Age Scandinavia is generally depicted in isolation without a human attached to it, or as a draught animal. As a draught animal the horse may be drawing the sun across the firmament or a wagon or a chariot (Kaul 1998, 2003; Johannsen 2010). In conclusion, a dating of the images displaying riders to Montelius' period VI or the Pre-Roman Iron Age seems reasonable.



Figure 2.17. Two riders at Järrestad 13:1. Photo: Catarina Bertilsson. SHFA id: 3982.

Finally, there is the ship, which during this period is represented by several different types. At the beginning of the period the outward-turned prow sometimes ending in an elaborate horse's head, is a typical feature. A well-known example is the Brandskog ship in Uppland, but the type also exists at Järrestad. During Montelius' period VI the asymmetrical ships were replaced by symmetrical ships, some of which closely resemble the Hjortspring ship. The elaborate horses' or birds' heads at the end of the ships disappear and there seems to be a greater focus on functionality (Bengtsson 2013).

In this study, late Montelius' period V, period VI and the Pre-Roman Iron Age are viewed as one single phase; this that could be questioned. Important changes in ship iconography took place in period VI which could justify a subdivision. However, given the limited corpus at hand in south-east Scania, I have decided to stay with one overall phase covering the period 800–200 BC.

Chronology on site level

This section will provide an account of the dating of individual sites based on the chronological framework discussed above. The locations of the sites are presented in Figure 2.18. Later on, the dating of the sites will be summarized in Figure 2.36.

The axes on this panel should be identified as palstaves and are thus dated to Montelius’ period II, 1500–1300 BC. This assumption is based on similarities to metal items but also on comparisons with other similar axe images previously identified as palstaves (Boye 1896; Nordén 1925; Ling 2013). The ship images are likely to have been produced in Montelius’ periods II and III, some of them resembling Sagaholm ships. There is a horse which indicates a phase 2 dating for this specific motif. Since the motifs can be argued to represent a coherent composition (see below), the overall dating of this panel is thus early phase 2 (Fig. 2.19).



Figure 2.18. Map demonstrating the position of the sites discussed in the text. Image: Peter Skoglund.



Figure 2.19. The panel at Gladsax 8:2 documented by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam. From Broström and Ihrestam 2013b.

Järrestad 1:1

This site has two ships, one of which is fragmentary. The complete ship can be dated on the basis of the upturned and only slightly inturned prows to Montelius' period III, i.e. phase 2 (Althin 1945: Taf. 78; Kaul 2006: Fig. 7:5). The context of this stone is interesting; it was found at a farmyard by Nils Gustaf Bruzelius, and according to the local people it originated from a nearby stone cist measuring 2.4×1.2 metres (Fig. 2.20) (1880–82: 18). Artur Nordén suggested that the carving originated from the grave registered as Järrestad 1:1; which is a possibility as both the location of the grave and the size of the cist fit into Bruzelius' description (1934: 46).

The carved stone itself is rectangular, 0.73×0.73 metres in size, but it is broken and the upper part is missing. The composition of two ships on top of each other, with at least one facing left, has a parallel in the Villfara carving, which also is found in a grave context (Östra Tommarp 22:1).



Figure 2.20. The stone cist at Järrestad 1:1. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Järrestad 13:1

Using the ship chronology worked out by Kaul (1998) and Ling (2008), it turns out that 23 out of 29 documented ships may be attributed to a specific period covering the time span from Montelius' period I to the earlier part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Skoglund 2013a). Thus the panel has a long history of use, stretching from 1700 BC to *c.* 200 BC. However, the ships are not evenly distributed among the periods but cluster in the later part of that time span. There is a clear concentration of ships dating from Montelius' period V to the earlier part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age, 900–200 BC, as 21 of 23 datable ships are attributed to this period (Figs 2.9, 2.14, 2.16, 2.17, 2.21).

The three axes at the top of the panel should probably be identified as palstaves and are thus dated to Montelius' period II, 1500–1300 BC (Fig. 2.9). This assumption is based on similarities to metal items but also on comparisons with other similar axe images previously identified as palstaves (Boye 1896; Nordén 1925; Ling 2013).

The large human figure with a winged scabbard is a clear reference to the warrior ideal of Hallstatt C and the Gündlingen type of sword, and as argued previously these kinds of swords with associated chapes should be dated to the Hallstatt C0 horizon – i.e. the first half of the 8th century BC (Fig. 2.14).



Figure 2.21. Part of the panel at Järrestad 13:1. From Althin 1945: Taf. 55.

There are also six riders on the panel, and as discussed above, a dating of the images displaying riders to Montelius' period VI or the Pre-Roman Iron Age seems reasonable (Fig. 2.17).

On the panel there are about 96 foot soles which are tentatively dated to Montelius' period I–III while the outlined feet are dated to Montelius' period V, period VI and the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Fig. 2.21) (see discussion above and Skoglund 2013a).

In conclusion, this panel dates to phases 1, 2 and 4.

Östra Nöbbelöv 5:4

The ships on this panel are typical of Montelius' periods II and III, and there are parallels to ships on the panels in the Sagaholm burial (Fig. 2.22)

(Broström and Ihrestam 2011: yta a; Goldhahn 1999: Fig. 5:2:6). The overall dating of this panel is phase 2. There is also an axe on this panel though it cannot be identified as a specific type. However, the outline does not resemble a palstave.

Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1

There are several ships on this panel that are typical of Montelius' periods II and III (Figs 4.7, 4.8) (Broström and Ihrestam 2013a: yta B, C, D and H). There is also a miniature axe that resembles a palstave (Fig. 2.23) (Broström and Ihrestam 2013a: yta F), which indicates a dating to Montelius' period II for this specific part of the panel. The overall dating of this panel is phase 2.

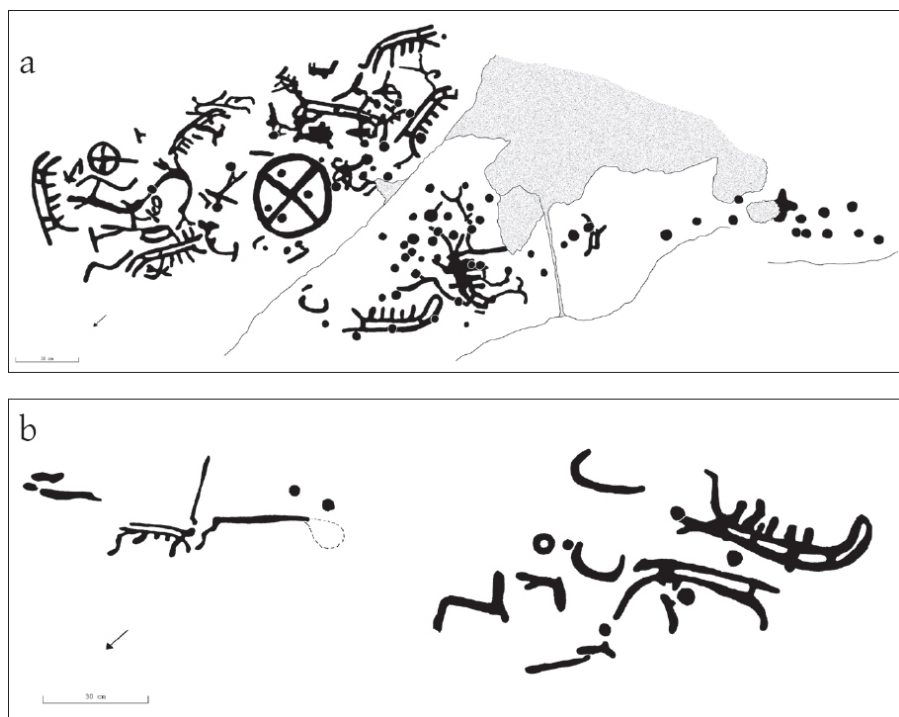


Figure 2.22a–b. The panel at Östra Nöbbelöv 5:4. a) area 1. b) area 2. From Broström and Ihrestam 2011.



Figure 2.23. Human, ships and a miniature axe resembling a palstave at Östra Nöbbelev 85:1 surface F. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Östra Nöbbelev 127 and 129

The ships on both panel Östra Nöbbelev 127 and Östra Nöbbelev 129 can be dated to Montelius' period II (Fig. 4.9). Based on the ship images, along with one of the human images that are made in S-shaped style similar to the ones at Kivik, and the occurrence of ships with horses heads, the overall dating of these two nearby panels is phase 2.

Östra Tommarp 22:1

The Villfara monument is today a mound that is 17 metres in diameter; it was excavated by Sven Nilsson in 1863. The monument, and the carving that was found in relation to it, has attracted the interest of scholars since the 1820s and was long seen as an important monument for the understanding of rock art in relation to graves. In his major work on the Scanian rock carvings, however, Carl Axel Althin argued that the carving was of recent date (1945: 96–98). He based his judgments on the carving technique, which he believed revealed the use of a steel chisel, and traits in the style of the motifs which he argued did not follow a typical Scanian pattern.

Althin's conclusions were immediately challenged by Oscar Rydbeck (1945) and Artur Nordén (1946); but Althin's assumption has still led to a kind of uncertainty about the proper context of the Villfara carving. Recently, Jens Winther Johannsen has gone through the documentation again

concerning both the grave itself and the carving, and he concludes that there is no reason to believe the Villfara carving to be a fake. There are no punch marks to support the use of a steel chisel, and the style of the motif falls into a well-established south Scandinavian rock art tradition (Johannsen 2013: 24–25).

Johannsen also concludes that the grave material seems to reveal two phases: one burial including a flint dagger that represents a grave dating to the end of Neolithic or Bronze Age Montelius' period I and a belt hook that represents a burial from Montelius' period II (Fig. 2.24) (2013: 21–22).

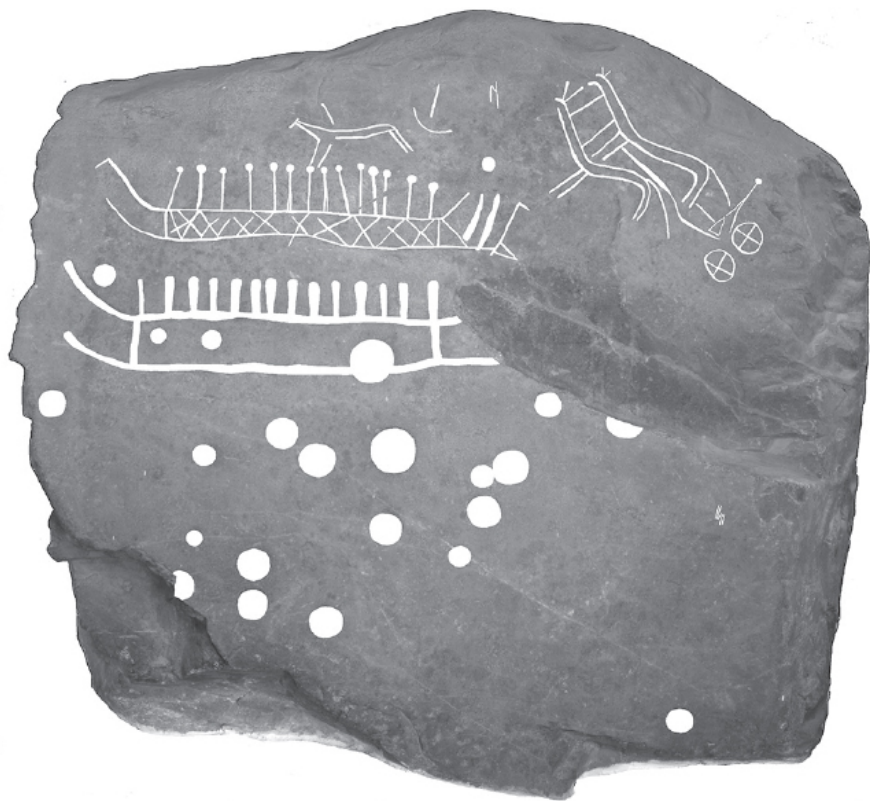


Figure 2.24. The Villfara carving. Documentation by Jens Winther Johannsen. From Johannsen 2013: 23.



Figure 2.25. The slab from Toreshög at Simris 10:2 measuring $1.55 \times 0.85 \times 0.30$ metres, stored at the Historical Museum in Stockholm (SHM 28720) Photo: SHMM (unknown photographer).

Interestingly, the two ships can be dated to Montelius' period II and are thus likely to be contemporary with the burial indicated by the belt hook (Johannsen 2013: 27). Moreover, the horse-drawn chariot and the horse image justify a dating of this stone to phase 2.

This site comprises two fragments of a boulder that was destroyed in the mid-19th century. Today the fragments are stored in two different museums in Stockholm and Lund (Althin 1945: Taf. 36). Altogether it is possible to identify six ships, four of which are complete (Fig. 2.25).

Some of these ships have traits pointing towards a dating to the Pre-Roman Iron Age. One of them is a symmetrical Hjortspring ship. The other three are also rather symmetrical and are similar to ships which should be attributed to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Ling 2008: figs 7:35: 15–17). From these observations the panel is dated to phase 4.



Figure 2.26. Photo of ship images at Simrishamn 2:1. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Simrishamn 2:1

This site has ships with straight upturned prows ending in stylized animals' heads or perhaps rather aquatic birds' heads which are typical of Montelius' period IV, i.e. phase 3 (Fig. 2.26) (Althin 1945: Taf. 37; Ling 2008: fig. 7:35: 11; Kaul *et al.* eds. 2005: 166:14).

Simrishamn 15:1

On this panel we recognize at least four axes of the Beddinge type, three of which are held by humans. Approximately five metres to the west are four Rørby ships which together with the axes make up a cluster of images belonging to phase 1 (Althin 1945: Taf. 18).

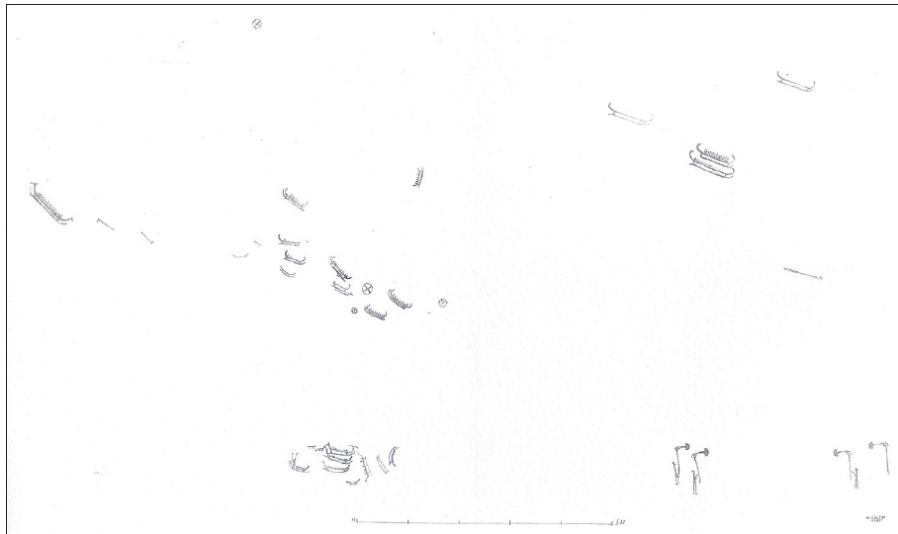


Figure 2.27. Part of the panel at Simrishamn 15:1. To the bottom right are four axes of the Beddinge type, three of which are held by humans; above these are ships made in the Rørby style and to the far left is a ship with out-turned prows marked by stylized horses' heads. Watercolour by Harald Faith-Ell. From Althin 1945: Taf. 18.

There are a cluster of images belonging to Montelius' period II and III. Among these are ships made in the Rørby tradition with upturned or slightly inturned prows, but there are also ships made in a new style with outturned prows ending in horses' heads (Kaul 2004: 290). The latter kind of ships postdate 1400 BC and are thus attributed to phase 2 (Fig. 2.27).

Documentation carried out in 2006 by a group of German researchers reveals that two of the ships on this panel are similar to ships of the Hjortspring type. Thus a dating of these two ships to the Pre-Roman Iron Age is likely (Tron *et al.* 2007: 60).

In conclusion phase 1, phase 2 and phase 4 are represented on this panel.

Simrishamn 16:1

On this panel circle images and unidentified motifs were registered in FMIS (The Archaeological Sites and Monuments database, www.fmis.se). However, when visiting the site in 2013 Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam discovered additional motifs, and documentation carried out in 2014 revealed three horses, three circle images, two axe blades and a ship (Broström and Ihrestam 2014a).

The axe blades are paired with the blades pointing towards each other. These are of two different types although both are unhafted and have pointed edges. Especially the one to the right resembles English axes attributed to the Arretton phase, 1750–1500 BC (Fig. 2.28).

Above the two axes are a ship and a horse, and together with the two axes and three cup-marks they make up a composition that one spontaneously would think consisted of contemporary motifs. However, the horse has a clear

parallel in the horse motifs from the Sagaholm burial, with straight backbones and the foreleg pointing forwards (Goldhahn 1999: fig. 5:2:4). According to the general dating of the horse, a phase 2 dating for these specific motifs is reasonable.

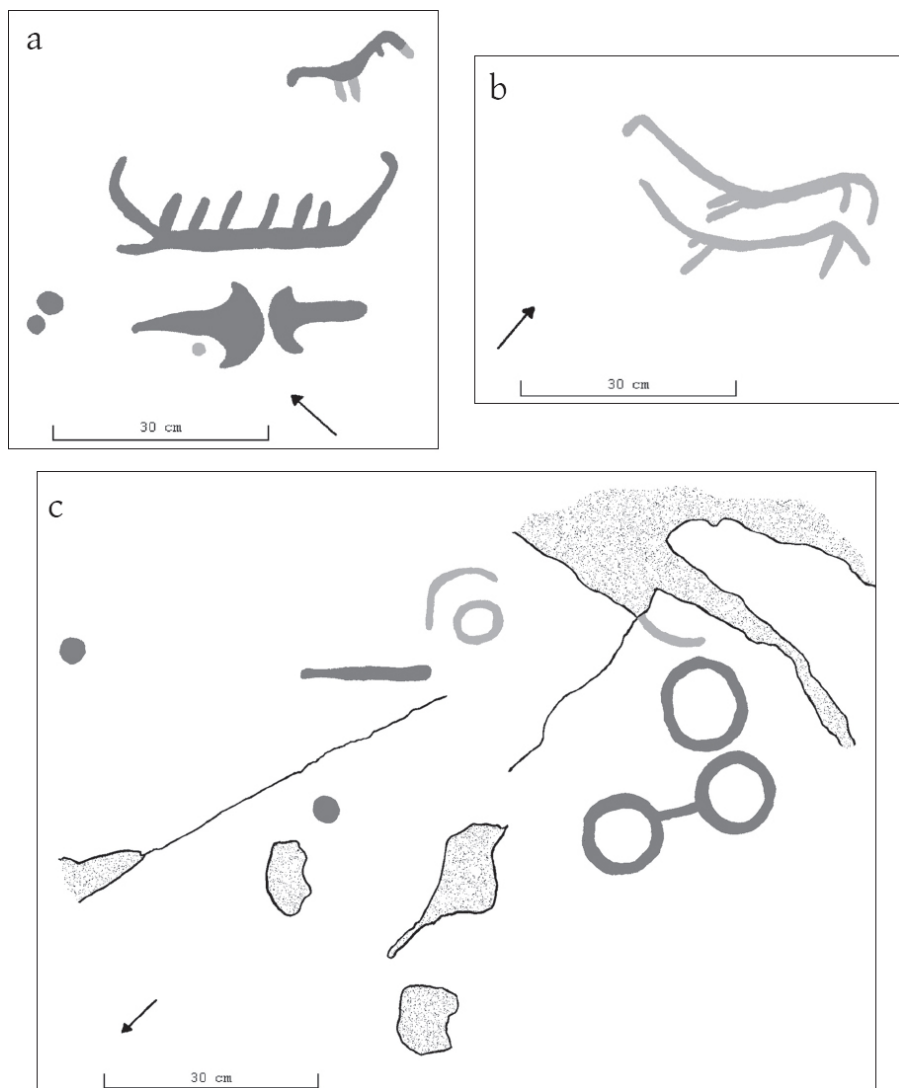


Figure 2.28a–b. Documentation of Simrishamn 16:1 by Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam. a) cup-marks, axes a ship and a horse motif. b) horses. c) cup-marks and circle images. From Broström and Ihrestam 2014a.

The ship is a bit problematic to attribute to a specific phase because it only consists of one line and the keel extension in the fore is not marked out. Given these limitations, the inturned prows indicate a dating to phase 1 or 2, though it is difficult to give a more precise dating (Goldhahn 1999: fig. 5:2:6; Ling 2008: fig. 7:35:3, 10).

At a distance from this composition there are yet another two horse images. These too are made in the Sagaholm style with forward-pointing forelegs though they are prolonged in comparison to the horse motif discussed above. Interestingly, both the compacted and prolonged versions of the horse motif occur on the same slab at Sagaholm (Goldhahn 1999: fig. 5:2:6).

In conclusion, it seems as if this panel consists of two phases. The axes were probably made in phase 1 while the horses were added in phase 2.

Simrishamn 18:1

The axes at this site do not fall into the pattern we recognize from the above sites Simrishamn 15:1 and 23:1 (Figs 2.27, 2.31). Axes of the Beddinge type are lacking. The hafting of the blade is in one instance similar to the Simrishamn 15:1 and 23:1, and in combination with the outline of the axes it is reasonable to believe that these axes also represent flanged axes. However, the shafts are in several cases bent into an S-shape, which is a feature typical of palstave axes like the ones displayed on Gladsax 8:2, but also of axes in the Norrköping area which were recognized by Nordén as palstaves (1925). Presumably these kinds of axes should be attributed to phase 1 (Fig. 2.29a–c).

The ships represent an interesting chronological sequence. The two Rørby ships are to be placed in phase 1 (Althin 1945: Taf. 31, 34:11) (Fig. 2.29a–b). There is one ship resembling ships from Sagaholm (Althin 1945: Taf. 34 (middle); Goldhahn 1999: fig. 5:2:26). Another ship is similar to this one but instead of a slightly inturned prow it has at one end an out-turned horse's head (Althin 1945: Taf. 32 (right) (Fig. 2.29d). These two latter ships are to be placed in phase 2.





Figure 2.29a–d. Various motifs from the Simrishamn 18:1 site: a) Rørby ship with a superimposed axe. b) Rørby ship surrounded by axes. c) Ship of the Sagaholm type. d) A rather similar kind of ship to C but ending in a horse's head. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Finally, there is a ship with a straight upturned prow ending in rather stylized animals' heads, or perhaps rather aquatic birds' heads, which are typical of Montelius' period IV (Althin 1945: Taf. 33:7; Ling 2008: fig. 7.35:11). Unfortunately, the ship is not complete on the opposite side and it has not been possible to identify it in the field today, probably due to

destruction by the enlargement of the modern road. This lends a kind of uncertainty to the classification. However, aboard the ship is also a motif that can be interpreted as a mushroom shaped symbol, which is known from razors dating to Montelius' periods IV and V (Kaul 1998; Althin 1945: 219). Altogether this favours the idea that the ship should be dated to period IV and thus placed in phase 3.

In conclusion Simrishamn 23:1 seems to cover phases 1, 2 and 3.

Simrishamn 20:1

This site consists of two ship motifs at the western edge of a larger stone quarry (Broström and Ihrestam 2014a). The larger ship has inturned prows and a rather upturned keel extension in the fore and it probably belongs to Montelius' period II (Ling 2008: fig. 7:35:5). The upturned keel extension indicates a dating to phase 2 rather than to phase 1. The age of the other ship is uncertain (Fig. 2.30).

In the FMIS (The Archaeological Sites and Monuments database, www.fmis.se) this site is located inside the stone quarry, which obviously is wrong, and it can be assumed that the site is identical to these two hitherto undocumented ship motifs.



Figure 2.30. Photo of Simrishamn 20:1. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Simrishamn 23:1

Based on the occurrence of axes of the Beddinge type and Rørby ships, a substantial number of the images on this site are dated to phase 1. The chariots which are not drawn by a horse also belong to this phase and various kinds of circle images. By its association with an axe of the Beddinge type, one out of the three human images at the site is securely dated to this period (Figs 2.1, 2.31).

In the periphery of the panel there are a couple of motifs which belong to phase 2 (Moberg 1970). This goes for the two shaft-hole axes which are identified by Althin and Moberg as axes of the Nortyckener type and thus belong to Montelius' period III (Moberg 1970: 100; Althin 1945: 73). Another, but less convincing, alternative is that they represent shaft-hole axes from Montelius' period II (Marstrander 1963: 33–34).



Figure 2.31. Part of the panel at Simrishamn 23:1. Watercolour by Harald Faith-Ell. From Althin 1945: Taf. 5.

The majority of the ships are of the Rørby type and thus dated to phase 1. There are also a group of ships with traits pointing towards Montelius' periods

II and III. One of these is positioned in the northern periphery. The ship is rather small with horses' heads at either end of the ship. The horses' heads are not of the Kivik type, but almost vertically upturned, which together with the general traits of the ship would indicate a dating to Montelius' period III.

In the western periphery of the panel is a horse image. The long and slender neck and the angle of the neck closely resemble the best-preserved horse figure in the Tågaborg find which is dated to Montelius' period II.

The horse motif is related to a semicircular motif which according to Burenhult cuts over the deeply carved horse motif (1980: 93). As demonstrated by Bertil Almgren, the circular outline is identical to the shape of the mantles known from Montelius' period II oak cist graves (1960).

There is thus an interesting sequence of images in this part of the panel, starting with a Rørby ship dating to phase 1. At the beginning of phase 2 the horse motif was added (Fig. 2.32). The back of the horse is aligned towards the ship, giving the impression that the two motifs were meant to be related (Goldhahn 2005: 114–119; Kaul 2004: 331). As a later addition a mantle was laid out on the panel. As evidenced by Burenhult's documentation (1980: 83), the edge of the mantle was fitted to the belly of the horse, which thereby decided the exact position of this circular image that came to cut over the very easternmost part of the Rørby ship. An overall dating of this panels should thus be phase 1 and 2.

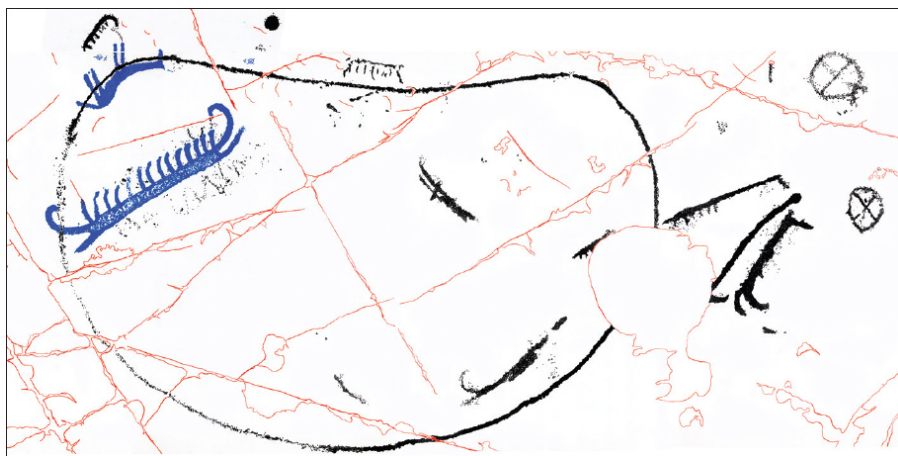


Figure 2.32. The mantle motif and associated horse and ship motifs at Simrishamn 23:1. Documentation by Rock Care 2004. SHFA id: 956.

Simrishamn 45

This site holds a ship motif which can be attributed to Montelius' period I or II (Broström and Ihrestam 2014b) (Fig. 2.33) (Ling 2008 fig. 7:35:2, Ling 2013: fig. 25:2:3). The keel extension is fairly horizontal and for this reason the ship is attributed to phase 1 rather than phase 2 (Ling 2013: fig. 25:2:3).

The Kivik carvings are dated by most scholars to Montelius' periods II and III, even though different opinions exist (Goldhahn 2013: 569). The images are difficult to date because some of the most interesting motifs, such as the images of two axes and a ship on slab no. 1, are only known through 18th-century documentation, and parts of the other slabs have been lost as well. There are thus different opinions concerning the number and shape of the ship images. Due to these circumstances I have chosen to start this discussion not with the dating of the images, but with the dating of the cairn, the cist and the people buried inside the cist.



Figure 2.33. The ship image at the Simrishamn 45 site. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

The Kivik monument has recently been studied by Joakim Goldhahn (2013), who was able to demonstrate with the help of radiocarbon dates that the cist was in use from c. 1400 to 800 BC. During this period several people were buried inside, or close to the cist, in different periods (Goldhahn 2009, 2013: 474–495).

Following Goldhahn, the carvings were most probably done on the one and same occasion, as they are related to each other in a narrative sequence, and the layout with the borders and lines are very similar between the slabs. Moreover, there is general agreement that the scenes depict rituals carried out in relation to the burial.

From Goldhahn's reinterpretation of the grave, it is clear that an older Neolithic monument was rebuilt into a cist in the 14th century BC (2013: 562). When dating this event, the two oldest of the dates from the continuous Bronze Age radiocarbon series is crucial. One of these is a piece of a burnt cranium dating to 1410–1260 (one sigma) and the other one is a tooth dating to 1400–1220 (one sigma) (Goldhahn 2013: 477–479).

These two dates can be compared with the occurrence of a bottom of a sword, or a knife, dating to late Montelius' period II, a fragmentary fibula dating to late period II and a larger bronze bucket dating to period II or III. The transition from Montelius' period II to period III took place around 1300, or slightly earlier, as indicated by analysis of the well-preserved, and well-dated, Danish oak cist graves (Randsborg 2006: 6). Thereby a proxy date for the first one or two burials, which took place in the remodeled cist, could be set to the 14th century BC.

The oldest Bronze Age burials, and the related remodeling of the cist, tell us nothing about the age of the images, which could theoretically have been made any time during the period 1400–800 BC. Viewing the making of the images from a practical perspective, however, there are good arguments that the images were made as part of the reconstruction of the cist, as it must have been difficult to make the carvings inside the finished cist.

Estimations of the original size of the cist reveal an inner structure c. 1.0 × 3.3–3.6 metres large and approximately 1.0 metre high (Goldhahn 2013: 19–30, 462–463). The cist was surrounded by a large cairn, some 75 metres in diameter, which would have hampered any removal of individual slabs.

The Kivik carvings are arranged according to a strict linear scheme where each slab is framed, and moreover the scenes on slabs 7 and 8 are arranged in three linear sections, which must have required the use of baselines (Fig. 2.34). Finally, the chariot reveals very fine details, and the use of a three-dimensional perspective requiring high precision. In conclusion, it is difficult to believe that the complicated layout of the motifs could have been arranged by any person working inside the rather condensed cist. A similar conclusion was also reached by Andreas Toreld and Tommy Andersson when they made a new documentation of the Kivik carvings in 2014.

Instead, the individual slabs must have been laid down in a horizontal position enabling the craftsperson to work intensively with the complex layout and the intricate details in a comfortable posture. This would be consistent with the way the majority of south Scandinavian rock art was made. In exceptional cases rock art occurs on vertical cliffs, but only in circumstances where it is reasonable to believe that they once were made by people standing upright aboard a ship (Ling 2006).

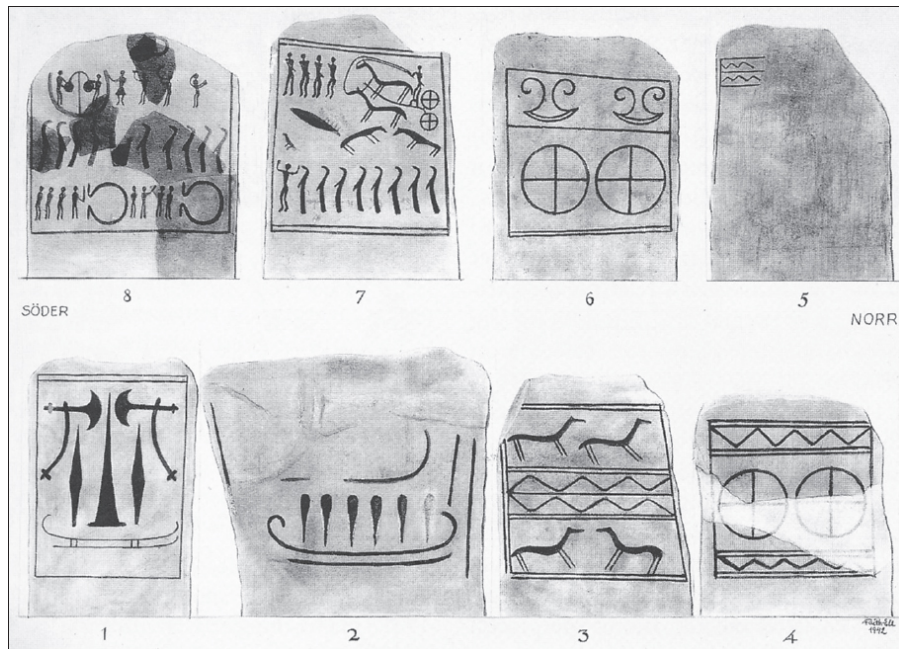


Figure 2.34. Documentation of the Kivik carvings by Harald Faith-Ell in 1942, partly based on older depictions for those parts of the cist which are lost.

The ^{14}C datings, the dating of the bronzes and the assumption that the images were made in relation to the construction of the cist, favour a dating of the Kivik carvings to the period 1400–1300 BC.

In the summer of 2014 a new documentation of the Kivik carvings was made by Andreas Toreld and Tommy Andersson from *Stiftelsen för dokumentation av Bohusläns hällristningar* (Fig. 2.35). In relation to previously presented documentation, their interpretations differ especially concerning slab no. 2. On this slab where many earlier scholars have assumed the existence of two ships they only see one. Interestingly, the shape of the ship indicates a dating to Montelius' period II. Also noteworthy is the crew strokes above the ship that are reinterpreted as shaft-hole axes with parallels in Montelius' period II metalwork (Toreld and Andersson 2015). This new documentation therefore supports the conclusions based on the analysis of the skeleton remains and the burial gifts. In conclusion, the dating of the burial chamber and its carvings should be assigned to Montelius' period II corresponding to phase 2.

Summary and perspectives

In Figure 2.36 the sites including motifs that can be attributed to one or more of the identified phases are presented in the left-hand column; and the

associated motifs are presented to the right. Motifs that cannot be attributed to a certain period are excluded and these include, for example, circle images, frames, and ships or axes that cannot be classified to one of the phases. Sites only including these latter kinds of motifs are not presented in the table.

Thus we are left with 20 sites and 15 different kinds of motifs.

The table illustrates the discussions in the previous sections, and we recognize a cluster of motifs that are dated to phase 1 (motifs 1–3) and a cluster of motifs that are associated with phase 2 (motifs 5–10). Between these categories are the hollowed-out feet, which may consist of motifs both with and without toes.

At the six sites attributed to phase 1 there is continuation into the following phase in five instances.

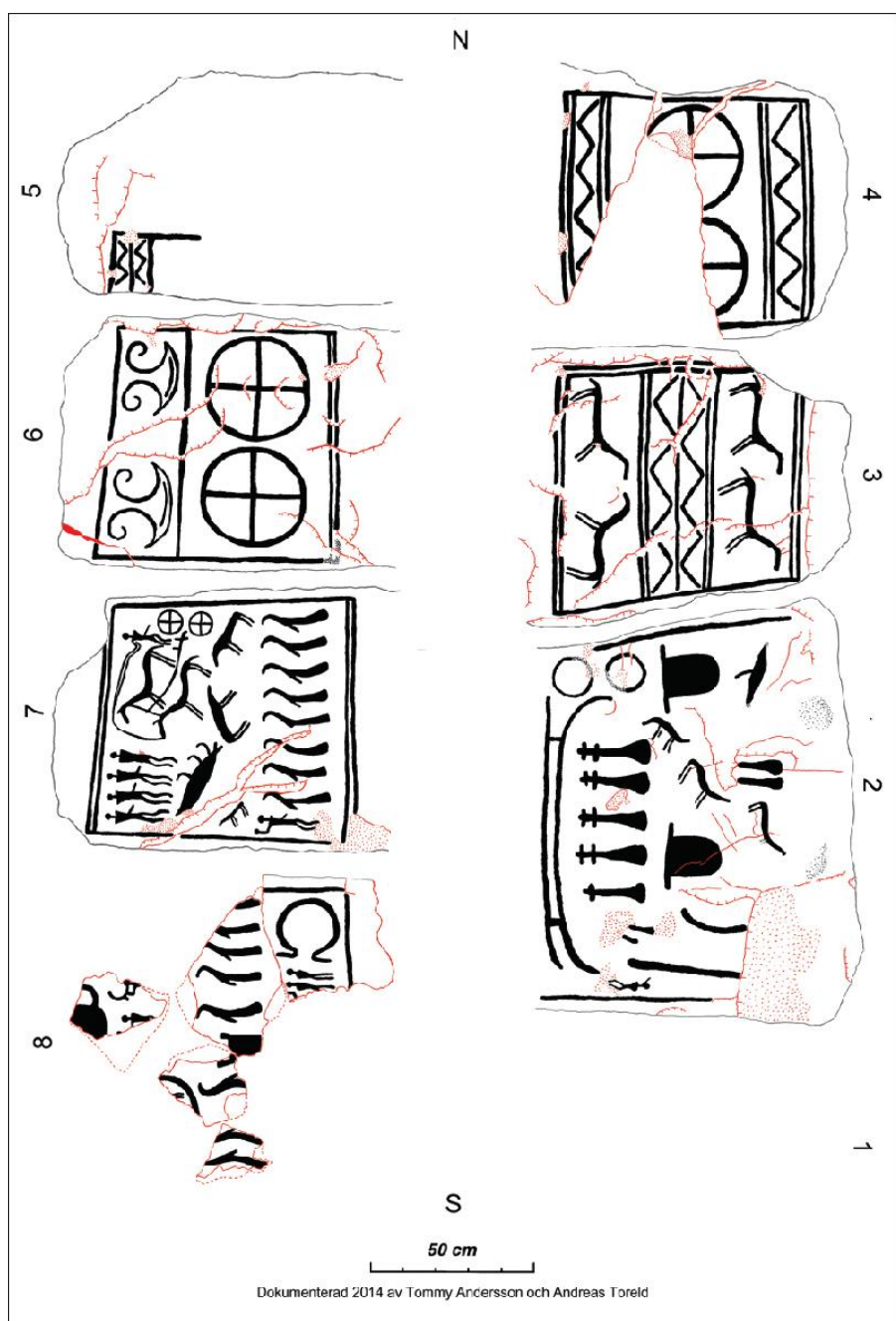


Figure 2.35. Documentation of the extant Kivik slabs by Andreas Toreld and Tommy Andersson in 2014. Black denotes definite rock art, black-dotted surfaces denote peck marks with uncertain delimitation, red lines denote cracks and red-dotted surfaces eroded parts. From Toreld and Andersson 2015: fig. 4.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
		Phase 1 ships	Flanged axes	Humans with axes	Hollowed-out feet	Phase 2 ships	Horses	Palstaves / Shaft-hole axes	S-shaped humans	Chariot with horses	Mantles	Phase 3 ships	Phase 4 ships	Outlined feet	Riders	Large human image
1	Simrishamn 23:1	x	x	x	x	x	x				x					
2	Simrishamn 15:1	x	x	x		x	x						x			
3	Simrishamn 18:1	x	x			x						x				
4	Simrishamn 16:1	x					x									
5	Simrishamn 45	x														
6	Järrestad 13:1	x			x	x		x					x	x	x	x
7	Södra Melby 42:1					x	x	x	x	x						
8	Gladsax 8:2					x	x	x								
9	Östra Tommarp 22:1					x	x			x						
10	Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1					x		x								
11	Östra Nöbbelöv 129				x	x			x		x					
12	Östra Nöbbelöv 5:4					x										
13	Järrestad 1:1					x										
14	Simrishamn 20:1					x										
15	Östra Nöbbelöv 127					x										
16	Simris 12:1				x											
17	Gladsax 90:1				x											
18	Gladsax 9:4				x											
19	Simrishamn 2:1											x				
20	Simris 10:2												x			
	PHASE	1	1	1	1+2	2			2		2	3	4	4	4	4

Figure 2.36. The diagram illustrates the chronological distribution of those 20 sites which can be attributed to one of the four defined phases (1–4) or phase 1/2. The names of the sites are given to the left and on the top are the images distributed along the periods. The diagram is based on information in the chapter ‘Chronology on site level’ and for the location of individual sites the reader is referred to figure 2.18.

Among the 14 sites attributed to phase 2 (sites 1–4, 6–15), five are similar to sites that was in use during phase 1, but nine are distributed at new locations in the landscape.

Phase 3 is represented by only two sites (sites 3, 19).

Phase 4 is represented by three sites (sites 2, 6, 20) and four categories of motifs (motifs 12–15). It is noteworthy that the outlined feet only occur combination with hollowed-out feet at Järrestad 13:1, but they do not occur in combination with hollowed-out feet on any of the other sites where hollowed-out feet are known. As Järrestad is the site with the longest continuity, this supports the idea that the outlined feet are associated to Järrestad phase 4 and not to Järrestad phase 1–2.

Phase 4 is weakly represented in the material, and it is only Järrestad 13:1 that shows a variation in motifs; on the other two sites there are only ships that can be attributed to phase 4.

Based on Figure 2.36 a chart demonstrating the distribution of sites through time has been produced (Fig. 2.37). The diagram illustrates a marked decrease in sites from phase 2 to phase 3. The number of sites decreases from 14 to 2.

The decreasing activity is also significant when discussing motifs instead of panels.

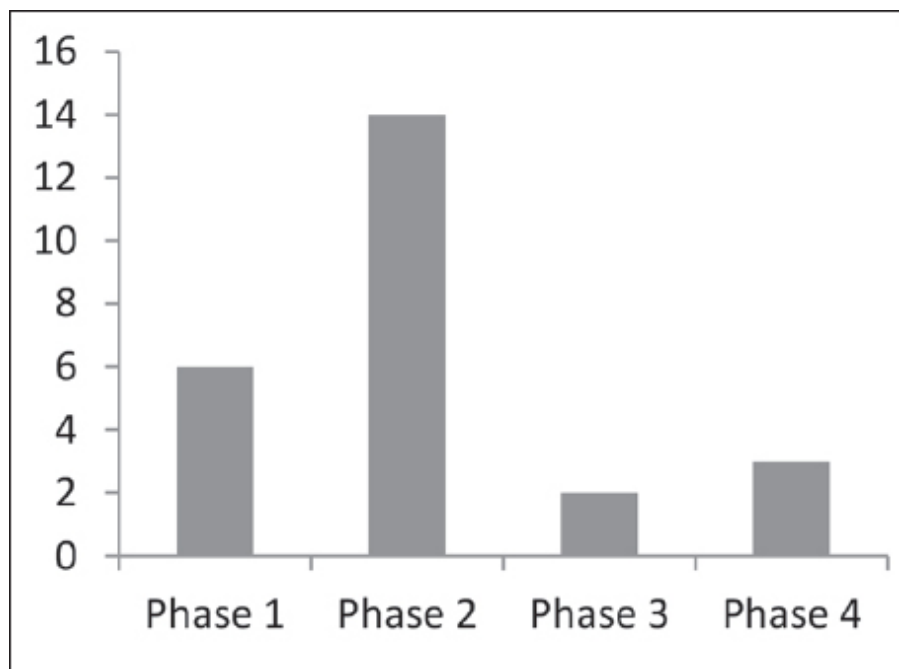


Figure 2.37. The chart demonstrates the distribution of the panels along the four phases.

On the two sites attributed to phase 3 there are just eight ships which can be compared to the roughly 130 motifs that can be attributed to phase 4, and the approximately 500 motifs that can be attributed to the two phases 1 and 2. The decrease in activity from phase 2 to phase 3 is thus significant, when it comes to both the number of sites and the number of motifs.

Finally, the panels from each of the four phases have been plotted on maps to evaluate the spatial distribution and whether this changed between the periods (Fig. 2.38a–d).

In phase 1 there is group of images close by the sea and then there is the larger Järrestad 13:1 site at a distance of 5.0 kilometres from the sea.

In phase 2 there is an expansion of sites towards the inland.

In phase 3 there are only two sites and both are coastal.

In phase 4 the pattern is again different and for the first time there are no sites very close by the sea.

The term ‘inland’ is used in this study in a relative sense to mark the contrast between sites situated immediately by the sea and sites further away from the sea; even though these latter ‘inland’ may still be within eyeshot of the sea and only a couple of kilometres or less from the shore.

In the following this periodization of the sites and the different motifs (Figs 2.36, 2.37) and their changing distribution in the landscape (Fig. 2.38a–d) will

make the foundation for assigning rock art to a historical framework.

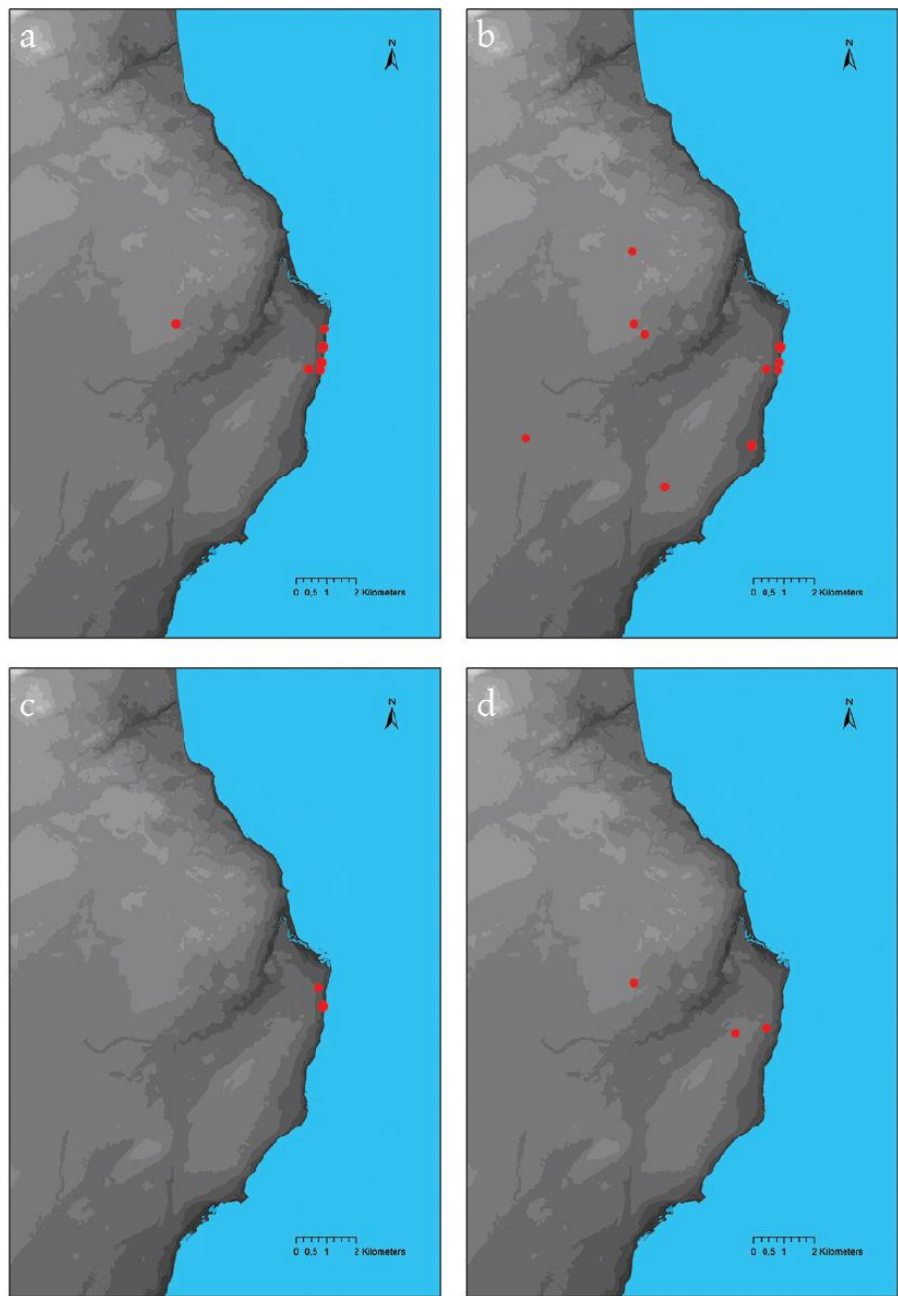


Figure 2.38a–d. The spatial distribution of those sites which can be attributed to a specific phase. a) Spatial distribution of images during phase 1. b) Spatial distribution of images during phase 2. c) Spatial distribution of images during phase 3. d) Spatial distribution of images during phase 4. Images: Peter Skoglund.

Chapter 3

Rock art and long-distance trade, 1700–1400 BC

As stated in the introductory chapter, rock art images are not randomly spread out, but arranged according to certain rules or norms. This goes for the motifs on individual panels, but in phase 1 this is also evident in a larger landscape perspective (Nordbladh 1980; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002).

In phase 1 the rock-carving tradition in south-east Scania is characterized by two clusters of images consisting of one inland group focused around the hollowed-out foot images at Järrestad, and one coastal tradition focusing on the ship and the axe images which are distributed at a couple of coastal sites south of Simrishamn. The spatial distinction between ships and axes on the one hand, and hollowed-out feet on the other hand, is very strong: there is only one ship known from inland sites and there are only rare examples of hollowed-out footprints in maritime contexts (Burenhult 1980: 63).

As will be discussed in this chapter, the ships and the axes at the coastal sites represent objects that may relate to ideas of seasonal travelling and long-distance trade, while the footprints at Järrestad may be related to notions of annual rituals and personhood. Thus, we cannot speak about a coherent rock art tradition in phase 1, but of two different sub-traditions that run in parallel; the arguments for this interpretation will be elaborated by a discussion of panels dominated by ship and axe images and by footprints.

The landscape context of the Simrishamn 23:1 panel

The landscape holding the major concentration of panels with ship and axe images south of Simrishamn is a fragmented landscape. Stone quarries have severely affected the formerly coherent context of a rocky landscape, creating large holes and destroying both rock art and the original landscape profile. Modern roads and houses further add to this destruction of the ancient

landscape. Moreover, the organization of the data per site and the registration of sites in the Register of Ancient Monuments have fostered a tradition of viewing each site as a place in itself to study on its own premises.

In a wider landscape perspective the sites Simrishamn 15:1, 18:1 and 23:1 should be seen as an overall unit, representing an area about 600 metres long and 200–300 metres wide, dominated by rocks and used for making rock art in the period 1700–1400 BC. In this section phase 1 at Simrishamn 23:1 will be a starting point for a discussion of the general character of the coastal rock art in south-east Scania during this phase.

Simris 23 has a prominent and public position and is located some 100 metres from the present shoreline (Fig. 3.1). The shoreline was even closer during the Early Bronze Age as the water level stood about 2 metres higher in those days compared with today (Mörner *et al.* 2009).



Figure 3.1. View towards the sea from Simrishamn 23:1. Photo: Bengt A. Lundberg, National Heritage Board. Source: Kulturmiljöbild.

The relationship between the panel and the surrounding landscape is difficult to grasp because of modern activities. There is a nearby stone quarry that has limited the rock, which today ends with a steep cliff in three directions, and in the fourth direction, a modern road and a parking lot, has

further removed the visual connection between the rock and the sea. However, when crossing the road and walking down towards the shore it is possible to spot the rock, which is partly displayed, all the way down to the sea. On the gently sloping surface towards the sea there are plain rock surfaces that probably were attractive landing places for navigators approaching this area from the sea (Fig. 3.2).

A close relationship between this rock art panel and the sea is similar to the maritime setting identified by Johan Ling in Bohuslän and Uppland (2008, 2013). In these regions it has been demonstrated, through a study of the land uplift processes, that in the Bronze Age there was a spatial relation between rock art and the shoreline. From these indications it is supposed that in Bohuslän and Uppland many rock art sites were located at, or close to, landing places and harbours, something that is especially true for Montelius' period I, 1700–1500 BC (Ling 2008: 207). The combination of the location close by the sea and the rock stretching into the water makes Simrishamn 23:1 a parallel to the maritime position of rock art in these two regions.



Figure 3.2. The extension of the rock at Simrishamn 23:1 towards the sea. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

The Simrishamn 23:1 panel as a micro landscape

The maritime milieu is not only represented in the location of the site, but also in the presence of the ship images which by their very nature refer to a maritime setting. Taking a broader Scandinavian view, ships motifs dominate

on panels located close to the sea. At Simrishamn the situation is slightly different, as ships in combination with axes represent fairly equal numbers on the panel.

Given that some of the axes seem to be inspired by British-Irish forms, we should perhaps not overstress the differences between the ships and the axes, as both seem to refer to travels by sea – either as a representation of the vehicle itself (the ship) or by a representation of the cargo carried by the ship (the axe).

Looking more closely into the distribution of the ships and the axes may give some further insight into the significance of each of the motifs. Considering the documentation, a somewhat curious thing about this panel is the total absence of any image in the centre of the panel. The explanation is that this part of the panel is characterized by two basins, the larger of which is a shallow depression covering 5×4 metres. This basin is a distinctive feature at the site, and it may only be natural that this feature was avoided, since it fills with water now and then. However, the total absence of images is intriguing, and this phenomenon may not only be due to practical reasons; the basin may have been significant to the people who made the images.

This notion is strengthened by the character of the basin itself, holding wave-like natural features reminding an observer of waves on the sea (Fig. 3.3). This is because the very special geology in this part of Scandinavia consisting of Cambrian sandstone, which was formed in the ocean more than 500 million years ago. The Cambrian sandstone incorporates in places multiple stratigraphic layers of fossilized wave impressions similar to ones found on the beach today (Tilley 2004: 155–157).



Figure 3.3. The basin at Simrishamn 23:1. Note the wavy lines which encapsulate fossilized waves. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

These features may be clearly visible at quarries where the top layer is unaffected by subsequent processes of glaciation. In contrast, where the rocks have been levelled more or less flat, these waves are not visible any more, as the glaciation processes have turned the rock into a plain and smooth surface. However, at the edge of the basin at Simris, where the rock runs almost vertically, the presence of fossilized waves can be recognized. It is proposed that the contrast between the higher flat surface and the lower partly wavy basin was used as metaphors for the sea and the land.

Looking at the directions of the ships, it is noticeable that they follow a roughly west–east direction. Given that the ships are not randomly spread, but cluster south-west and north-east of the basin, the vast majority of ships are oriented as if they are either moving out of the basin or are manoeuvring towards it. This pattern contrasts with the orientation of the axes, which display a different pattern. An axe does not have a given direction in the same way as a ship, but if we define the blade of the axe as forward, the axes point randomly in any direction, and they are not aligned towards the basin (Fig. 3.4).

This contrast between ships and axes is found on yet another condition – speaking in general terms the ships and axes seem to have different kinds of spatial relations to the basin – a majority of the ships are located close to the basin, while the axes are located both close to the basin and at some distance from it. This is especially clear directly east of the perimeter of the basin – where the waves are most clearly identifiable – this is an area comprising a

mix of ships and axes, while behind this area axes dominate on behalf of the ships.

Two points are important here. There is the alignment of the ships making the ships moving in or out of the basin, and there is the spatial association between the basin and the ships. Together this favours an interpretation of the basin as representing the sea.

Axes appear both associated with ships and as separated motifs having a significance of their own. The clearest example of an association between axes and ships is the frequently reproduced composition of two axes set on the top of a ship image, as if the two axes represent goods aboard this ship. Accepting the idea of the basin as an image of the sea, this is logical as there was no local metal extraction in Scandinavia during the Bronze Age, but all metal was imported – and a substantial amount of the imported metal must have reached Scandinavia by the help of ships (Ling *et al.* 2014).

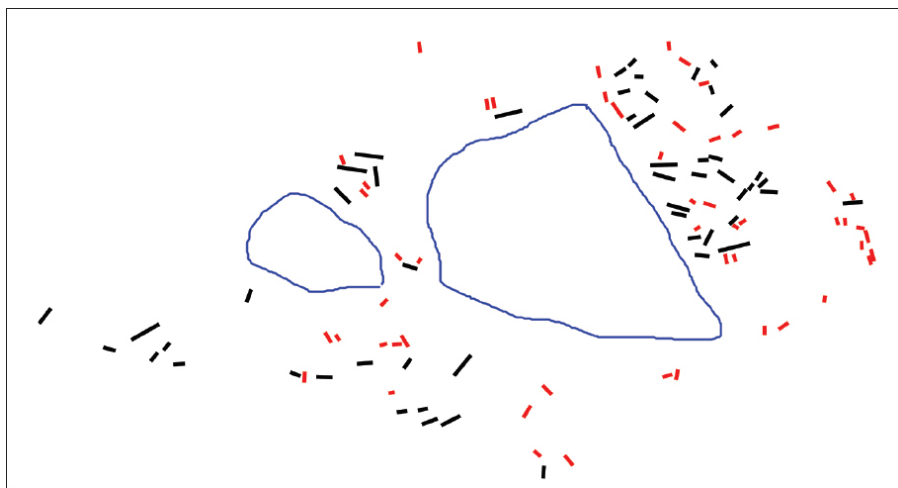


Figure 3.4. The distribution of axes (red) and ships (black) in relation to the basins (blue) on the Simrishamn 23:1 panel. Simplified distribution map based on Althin 1945: Taf. 1. Image: Peter Skoglund.

From these observations a tripartite division of this part of the panel is suggested: the basin represents the sea, areas closest to the basin represent the shore and adjoining areas, and areas at some distance from the basin represent dry land at a higher elevation.

This way of integrating rock art motifs and natural feature in the rock into an overall composition has been thoroughly discussed by various scholars, based on evidence from different regions (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1990; Helskog 1999, 2004; Gjerde 2010). For example, the use of fissures and cracks to represent tracks and pathways in a landscape dominated by animals has been discussed by Jan Magne Gjerde studying north Scandinavian rock art (2010). In these example pathways in a terrestrial setting are manifested with the help of natural cracks; at Simrishamn sea routes, embarking and

disembarking in a maritime context, are seemingly illuminated by relating the motifs to a natural basin with wavy lines.

Given the location and the content of the Simrishamn 23:1 site, and also the adjoining Simrishamn 18:1 site, it seems rational to interpret these coastal sites as related to maritime rituals. From ethnography we know that the seashore has the potential to be regarded as a liminal space embedded in taboos and rituals (Westerdahl 2006); and as argued by Ian McNiven on the basis of his study of aboriginal people in Australia, a spiritual relationship may develop between man and sea in areas where people are dependent upon the sea (2003, 2008; see also Nimura 2012). A similar perspective has also been discussed by Joakim Wehlin in his account of the Bronze Age ship settings on the island of Gotland in the Baltic (2013).

Axes and overseas connections

I have argued that the Simrishamn panel could be viewed as a reflection of maritime rituals and long-distance contacts. In this section I will expand this perspective, and discuss whether parts of the rock art tradition itself might have been inspired by overseas connections.

When compared to the archaeological record of preserved contemporary flanged axes, the axes with pointed edges (the Beddinge type) are overrepresented in the Simrishamn carvings. The conclusion is that many of the axes displayed on the panels do not refer to axes in general, but to axes of an 'international' style, or code, which could be recognized not only in southern Scandinavia but also in, for example, Britain and Ireland.

Axes made in Ireland and Britain, or inspired by Irish-British types, occasionally occur outside this region, and the greatest concentration is to be found in present-day Denmark and Scania. The distribution pattern, with a concentration in south Scandinavia, favours an idea of direct contact between the two regions during the Late Neolithic and the earliest Bronze Age (Megaw and Hardy 1938: 279–282; Harbison 1968: 180–183).

According to Butler, the distribution pattern indicates the existence of a direct overseas route between south Scandinavian and Britain and Ireland (Butler 1963: 210). Furthermore, it has been suggested that these contacts were well organized, and may have involved the movement of itinerant smiths of Irish or British origin who settled in south Scandinavia (Megaw and Hardy 1938: 291–292; Butler 1963: 207–208; Harbison 1968: 180–181; Vandkilde 1996: 89–90).

In fact, it may be that the idea of making axe images should be viewed in the light of overseas connections between south Scandinavia and Britain. The rock art of Britain is dominated by abstract and non-figurative motifs. However there is a restricted number of sites in England and Scotland with

figurative art, displaying unhafted axes, daggers and footprints.

The Kilmartin group in western Scotland is a small and homogeneous group consisting of three monuments in the Kilmartin valley where axes and cup-marks have been made on the uprights and capstones of cists (Nash 2009; Abott and Anderson-Whymark 2012). The axes seem to be of the Migdale type or possibly Killaha type, and on this basis the carvings should be dated to *c.* 2100–1900 BC (Jones 2015). These images are thus older than the Simrishamn carvings and will not be considered further in this discussion.

Another group is restricted to England, and is more heterogeneous, when it comes to the location of the sites and the motifs depicted. The main site in this group is Stonehenge. Already in 1953 a dozen axes were reported by Richard Atkinson, and over the years new images have been sporadically recorded, and in 2011 altogether 44 images were known at Stonehenge. This situation changed dramatically when English Heritage undertook a laser scanning of all the stones; thanks to this new method another 71 axe images were recorded, and altogether 115 axe images are today known from Stonehenge, and in addition there are three images of daggers. The axes are not hafted; only the axe heads are displayed (Fig. 3.5) (Abbott and Anderson-Whymark 2012: 26–27).

The motifs are not randomly distributed, but occur on four key panels: the exterior east faces of stones 3, 4 and 5, and the north-west interior face of stone 53, and only four motifs are found elsewhere. The position of a majority of the motifs on the east exterior faces of stones 3–5 is interesting, as this direction had no specific significance in the Neolithic, which indicates that the carvings were done later. The axe heads are identifiable as a form of flanged axe with distinctively splayed edges which were in use *c.* 1750–1500 BC, and the dagger style would also fit this range (Abbott and Anderson-Whymark 2012: 53–54).

Based on the few parallels that exist in England (to be discussed below) it has been presumed that the axes should be viewed in relation to death rituals. There are not many rituals known from Stonehenge itself, but in a wider landscape setting there is a dense concentration of contemporary burials which may justify such an interpretation (Abbott and Anderson-Whymark 2012: 53–54).

The closest parallel to Stonehenge is a stone from the Badbury barrow in Dorset which during excavation in the early 19th century yielded a stone with two unhafted axes, two daggers and five cup-marks (Abbott and Anderson-Whymark 2012: 53–54).

If we expand the perspective and also include footprints, the Calderstone monument in Liverpool stands out as an interesting example of English figurative rock art with a probable Bronze Age dating. This monument – originally a passage grave – was demolished in the early 19th century, but some of the stones were rescued and are today exhibited in Calderstone Park in Liverpool. In 2007 a photographic documentation was undertaken by

George Nash and Adam Stanford. The interpretation of this new documentation revealed a Bronze Age phase consisting of eight footprints, lines, cup-marks and a possible dagger, which were previously thought to be of Neolithic or medieval age (Nash 2009; Nash and Stanford 2010).



Figure 3.5. Axe images on the exterior of stone 4 at Stonehenge; above example of offset image and below image compiled from all 75 offset images. Motifs discovered in 2012 are marked in green. From Abbot and Anderson-Whymark 2012: 29.

The eight carved feet which Nash and Stanford attribute to the Bronze Age are made in a similar technique, as if they were all made at roughly the same

time (Nash 2009; Nash and Stanford 2010: 63–64). The triangular shape of the footprints closely resembles some of the foot images at the Järrestad site (Nash 2009; Nash and Stanford 2010: Plate 12).

There is yet another site with footprints, and that is Pool Farm in West Harptree, where a decorated slab with seven foot-carvings and ten cup-marks from the Pool Farm cist formed part of a sealed stone cist containing two cremations. One of the cremations was ^{14}C -dated to 1920–1735 BC (cal. 2 sigma) and the other is presumed to be contemporary (Coles *et al.* 2000). These footprints differ in style from the Calderstone ones, as the individual toes are clearly displayed as they are splayed out.

English figurative art is a heterogeneous group and it is of course difficult to see pattern in the few sites. Comparing the English evidence – especially the Stonehenge carvings – with the Scanian situation, we see both differences and similarities. A clear difference is the way axes are depicted and arranged. The axes at Stonehenge are unhafted, roughly arranged in rows, all with their blades pointed upwards, while the majority of axes in Scania are hafted and generally they are not aligned in any particular direction.

This is the general picture, but there are isolated examples of unhafted axes in the Scanian material. An example is the newly discovered axes at the Simrishamn 16:1 site (Fig. 2.28a). When Sven-Gunnar Broström and Kenneth Ihrestam visited this site in 2013 they noticed additional images besides the ones already registered in the FMIS (Broström and Ihrestam 2014a). Among the new finds are a couple of paired axes with opposing blades. Interestingly these axes are unhafted. On the top of these axes is a ship and above the ship a horse image; in other parts of the panel there are two additional horses and a couple of circle images. This panel is positioned close to the sea, underlining its maritime context (Fig. 3.6).

The axes have pointed edges and especially the one to the right is interesting in relation to the discussion of the English axe images. This image resembles some of the axes displayed at Stonehenge dating to the Arretton phase 1750–1500 BC (Abbott and Anderson-Whymark 2012: 29) (compare Fig. 2.28a and Fig. 3.5).

The position of this site is interesting as it is situated low in the landscape at a height of about 5 metres. Given that the sea stood some 2 metres higher in the Early Bronze Age, the sea would have been only about 50 metres away. The ground towards the sea is rather flat and during high water levels the water cannot have been far away from the panel. The unhafted axes thus occur in a maritime context which is oriented towards the sea. The new findings at Simrishamn 16:1 are thus an important discovery, as they underline the similarities between some of the images in Scania and contemporary English images.



Figure 3.6. The position of Simrishamn 16:1 in relation to the surrounding landscape. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

In trying to identify an overall grammar of how motifs are displayed in the landscape, and what kind of motifs are combined, there seem to be some parallels between Scania and England and in particular the Stonehenge site. The 115 axe images and 3 dagger images at Stonehenge are not combined with any other motifs. Even though it has been stated that cup-marks exist at Stonehenge, the laser scanning proved these to be natural features. Finally, the axes at Stonehenge are exposed in open air. They are made at a height suitable for a person standing on ground, and when new they must have been visible to any person passing through the entrances defined by stones 3, 4 and 5. The images at the Badbury barrow had a different context, though, and were found inside a grave.

This can be compared to the situation at Simrishamn 23:1 where the axes have a public location close to the seashore and a presumed landing place for ships. Cup-marks exist but they are comparatively rare.

Turning to the English footprints, these does not occur together with axes but are instead combined with cup-marks. They are found in grave contexts and were thus hidden from the public. In Scania the footprints are concentrated at Järrestad which is an open-air site, but an inland site, and compared to Simrishamn 18:1 it has a less public character. Footprints are also found on the roof slab of a megalithic grave and on a larger boulder at Gladsax 9:4 and 90:1 (Fig. 2.11). In these cases they are hidden from people approaching these sites on foot. The combination of footprints and cup-marks is obvious in these examples. In Scania too, footprints and axes are generally

kept separate.

Given that the two traditions partly overlapped in time, these similarities in the shape of certain motifs, and the overall arrangement of the panels may be the result of actual long-distance contacts where the two traditions influenced each other.

The making of footprints

Compared to the ship images, the hollowed-out footprints have a different position in the landscape. The hollowed-out feet images are concentrated at the Järrestad 13:1 site situated 5 kilometres inland in an agricultural landscape. This site has about 90 such footprints. Another two panels with footprints occur in a similar landscape setting north of Järrestad. Three footprints occur at Gladsax 9:4 and another nine footprints, four of which have toes, occur at Gladsax 90:1 (Broström and Ihrestam 2013b, 2014c).

There are only scattered footprints along the coast. A single footprint with toes is situated in a very prominent position at the top of an impressive height at Stenshuvud close to the sea (Södra Mellby 196). Two rather small footprints occur at Simrishamn 23:1 and another two footprints are documented at Simrishamn 12:1. At Östra Nöbbelöv 127 there are three footprints, two of which are hollowed-out (Fig. 4.9c). In conclusion, hollowed-out feet are concentrated in the inland, whereas they occur in restricted numbers at some of the coastal sites. This pattern is consistent with the distribution of footprints on a larger spatial scale, as demonstrated by Göran Burenhult in a study of rock art in south and central Sweden (Burenhult 1980: 33).

The Järrestad panel itself is large and impressive, situated on the eastern slope of a natural ridge (Fig. 6.1). However, the solid rock is rather flat, and for this reason you have to come close in order to be able to identify it. The panel has a lot of different kinds of images, but there is only a single ship image that can be attributed with certainty to phase 1. The ship is a rather large ship with in-turned prows typical of Montelius' period I (Skoglund 2013a).

The hollowed-out footprints at Järrestad reveal an ordered pattern, as the footprints are aligned according to certain rules – a majority of the footprints either point towards the south-east or the north-west (Fig. 2.21) (Mörner 2012). This is consistent with an overall pattern identified by Richard Bradley. Based on a selected sample of published drawings from various parts of southern Sweden and Norway, he was able to demonstrate that footprints generally point towards the north-west, north-east, southwest or south-east (Bradley 2009: 195).

In the studied areas the axis identified by the footprints corresponds to the

turning points of the year. North-east and north-west mark the direction of the midsummer sunrise and sunset respectively while south-east and south-west indicate the same events at midwinter. According to Bradley, these carvings reveal a concern with the movement of the sun across the sky, and especially the places where it appears and disappears (Bradley 2009: 195–197).

Given that the foot soles are replicas of real feet at a scale of 1:1, many of the foot soles seem to display adolescents rather than grown-ups. It is thus tempting to relate these images to the ritualization of bodies and the construction of personal identities (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002: 223–231; Skoglund 2006: 20–22; Sognnes 2011). In the last decade there have been serious attempts in the archaeological debate to abandon the idea of separating the body from the outer world and separating the soul from the body. These notions and research inspired by anthropology have stressed the ‘dividual’ nature of personhood that exists in many cultures (Fowler 2004; Brück 2004; Jones 2005; LiPuma 1998; Brittain and Harris 2010).

From this perspective the foot images are interesting. Among the representations of the human body occurring in rock art, foot images are special, being a one-to-one replica of a certain part of the body. Actually, we should perhaps not think of these images as representations, but rather as copies, created by using real feet as models. Another analogy would be the inverted but exact likeness that exists between a mould and the metal item made with the help of the mould.

Foot soles may thereby help to expand and redefine the notion of personhood as well as creating a forum for distributing and dividing personality, as people metaphorically could ‘share’ other people’s bodies by literally placing themselves in their foot soles. Thus the relationship between the real feet and rock art feet would be equated with the bonding of people by holding exact copies of a similar object (Fowler 2004: 69–70); a modern example would be the use of wedding rings to manifest the unity of two persons by marriage.

Even though it is difficult to reach any definite conclusion regarding the footprints at Järrestad, it is clear that they represent something quite different from the panels close to the sea. The contrast between Järrestad and the coastal sites, when it comes to both motifs and landscape setting, indicate a duality where different kinds of motifs had different relations to the surrounding landscape.

It has been argued that the coastal sites represent objects that may relate to ideas of seasonal travelling and long-distance trade, while the footprints at Järrestad may be related to notions of annual rituals and personhood.

A wider use of the ship image, 1400–1100 BC

Around 1400 BC changes occurred in the rock art landscape as regards the distribution of individual motifs. The spatial demarcation between ships along the coast and hollowed-out footprints in the inland dissolved, as ship motifs now also occurred in greater numbers at inland sites, but also in graves located at various positions in the landscape (Figs 4.1, 4.4).

Important changes also took place in the distribution of the axe motif. While the flanged axes belonging to phase 1 are concentrated at the coastal sites, the palstaves belonging to phase 2 only occur at two inland sites (Fig. 4.2). The making of the axe motif thus ceased to be part of a maritime environment and was instead incorporated in other kinds of contexts.

The activities along the coast continued and the major coastal sites in use in phase 1 were also in use in phase 2, which is evident from the occurrence of a smaller number of ship images dating to this period (Fig. 4.3).

However, the most prominent phase 2 sites are situated at a distance of 300–600 metres from the sea (Simrishamn 15:1, Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1, 127 and 129). These sites are too far away from the sea to have functioned as harbours, but still the sea is within eyeshot and only a few minutes' walking distance away. It is quite possible that these sites were part of a maritime infrastructure and could have acted as places for overnight stays and meeting places for travellers and local people.

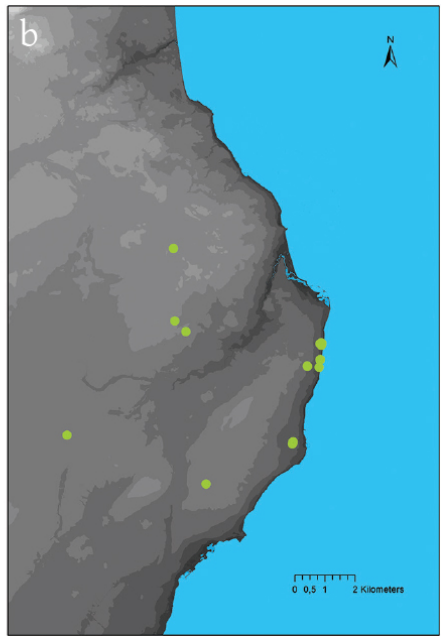
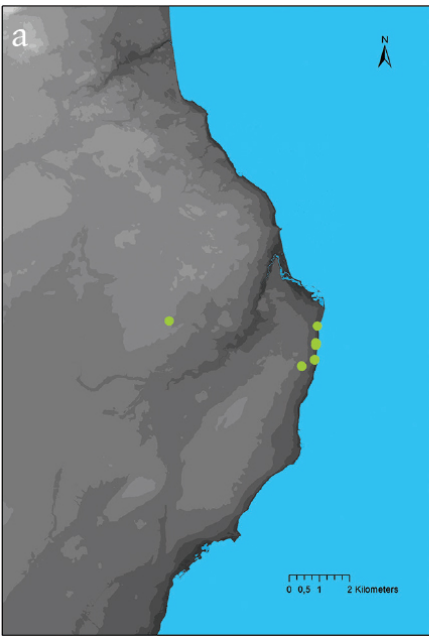


Figure 4.1. The distribution of panels holding ship images in phase 1 and phase 2. a) distribution of ship images in phase 1. b) distribution of ship images in phase 2. Image: Peter Skoglund.

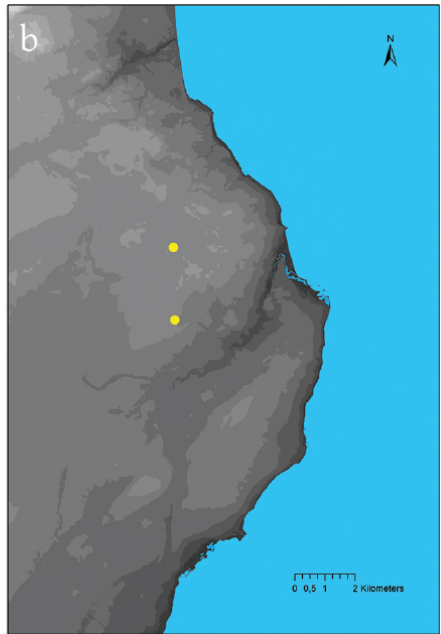
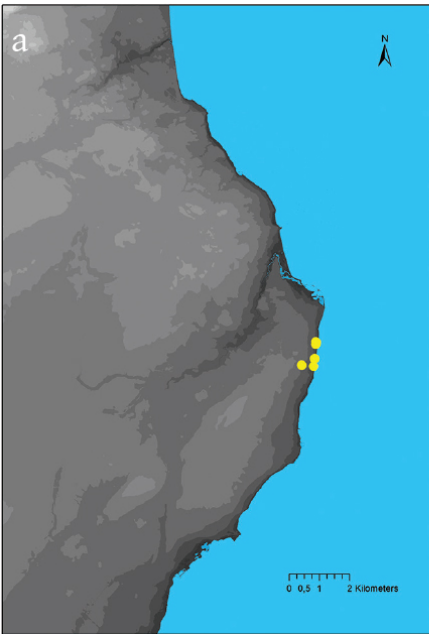


Figure 4.2. The distribution of panels holding axe images in phase 1 and phase 2. a) distribution of images resembling flanged axes (phase 1). b) distribution of images resembling palstaves (phase 2). Image: Peter Skoglund.



Figure 4.3. Sven-Gunnar Broström documenting the ship image at Simrishamn 45. The picture illustrates the close relation between this ship image dating to phase 2 and the sea. Photo: Peter Skoglund.



Figure 4.4. The position of the Gladsax 8:2 panel in relation to the surrounding landscape. The picture illustrates the inland context of the ships on this panel dating to phase 2. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

There are also sites located even further away from the sea (Järrestad 13:1, Östra Nöbbelöv 5:4, Gladsax 8:2). A new phenomenon is the occurrence of two sites with a large number of ships motifs in these inland locations. The

manifestation of 14 and 11 ships respectively at Nöbbelöv 5 and Gladsax 8:2, dating to phase 2, contrasts with the only securely dated phase 1 ship at the inland site of Järrestad.

Finally, there is rock art incorporated into burial sites which also is a novelty in phase 2. These are located both in inland contexts and close to the sea, but by definition these were the outcomes of death rituals and not of maritime activities. These burials include the Kivik monument (Södra Mellby 42), the Villfara monument (Östra Tommarp 22:1), the grave at Järrestad (Järrestad 1:1) and possibly also the Brantarör site located at Brantevik. This larger burial cairn at Brantevik was destroyed in the 18th century and a stone with a circle image is said to have been found at the cairn (Wallebom 2008).

Thus the evidence demonstrates a spatial expansion of panels holding ship images when phase 2 is compared to phase 1. Furthermore, the tradition of making axe images in a maritime environment ceased to exist and was replaced by axe images at inland sites (Fig. 4.2).

The wider use of ship images in different kinds of contexts in phase 2 can be related to Sherry Ortner's concepts of the key symbol (1973) – i.e. a symbol that can be used in many diverse contexts and situations, and can summarize many different aspects in one symbol. Consequently, the key symbol may also be used in different strategies in order to underline certain aspects of the symbol. In the next section there will be an attempt to evaluate some of these strategies.

Rock art and narratives

From studies of metalwork we know the occurrence of narratives concerning the movement of the sun which is displayed on razor blades from around 1100 BC (Kaul 1998; 2004). However, the idea of forming narratives by combining images into sequences was not a novelty around 1100 BC; this tradition was established in rock art already around 1400 BC. This move towards a narrative way of presenting images in rock art can be described as a change from an iconic mode of doing rock art to a narrative way of doing rock art. The iconic mode is composed of static, symmetrical and rather non-interactive motifs. Indications of time sequence relationships are almost lacking. Narrative imagery employs different perspectives, more complex compositions and combinations of motifs. Images are depicted interacting with each other, in order to create time-sequenced narratives or stories (Klassen 1998: 44–45).

In the following I will demonstrate the narrative character of the rock art in phase 2 by discussing various rock art sites, and it will be argued that they reveal three different kinds of narratives that can be related to sun symbolism, death rituals and origin myths respectively. Furthermore, they use different

modes of illustrating time by arranging images into sequences, something that will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Gladsax carving – ships and axes

The Gladsax carving is situated on the roof slab of a passage grave which is surrounded by a mound (Gladsax 8:1). The mound, which is 16 metres in diameter, is located on a small height. The passage grave itself consists of a chamber and a passage, and when excavated in 1978 it yielded finds from a larger part of the Neolithic, including the Late Neolithic but no specific Bronze Age finds that could be contemporary with the carvings (FMIS). There is no indication that the monument was ever covered by a mound, and thus the roof slab should have been reachable for the making of rock art without any encroachment on the monument.

On the roof slab there is a composition of images consisting of 11 ships, 5 axes, 1 animal, 2 circle figures, 7 uncategorized motives and 95 cup-marks (Broström and Ihrestam 2013b). Documentation in 2013 revealed that all the motifs except the larger circle image at the top was made in a similar style. The larger circle cuts over the other motifs, indicating that it is a later addition in comparison to the other motifs (Fig. 4.5a).

In the following the Gladsax carving will be related to a notion of solar symbolism. An important theme in many discussions concerning Scandinavian Bronze Age iconography is a notion that solar symbolism was an important element in decorated metalwork and rock art. This strand of research has a long history and includes scholars like Sophus Müller (1903), Ernst Sprockhoff (1954), Peter Gelling (Gelling and Davidson 1969) and Flemming Kaul (1998, 2004).

An often used starting point for any attempt to grasp solar symbolism in the Early Bronze Age is the unique Trundholm chariot which was found in Zealand in 1902 and dates to Montelius' period II (Fig. 4.6) (Müller 1903). The Trundholm chariot consists of a sun disc being transported with the help of a horse; it is set on six wheels to facilitate transportation and thus it is often referred to as the Trundholm sun chariot. This item reveals two different perceptions of the journey of the sun that are represented by either side of the disk. The disk is made of bronze, but on one of the sides a sheet of gold is applied to the face, indicating that this side is meant to represent the day.

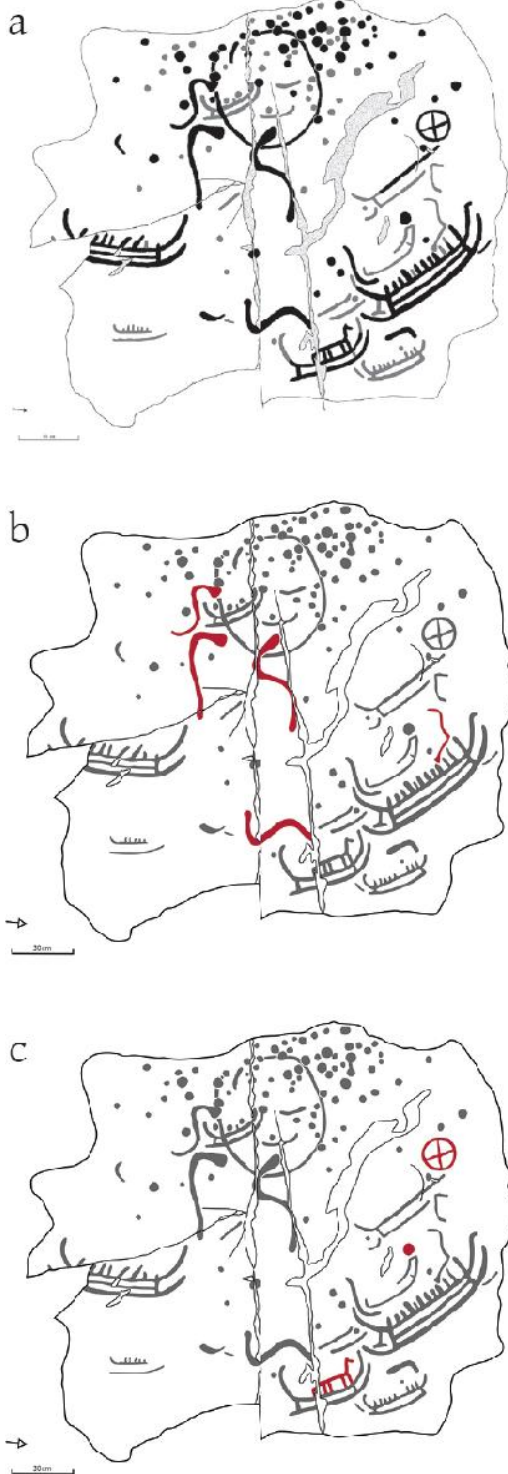


Figure 4.5a–c. Documentation of the Gladsax 8:2 panel. a) The original documentation, the larger circle at the top is made in a different technique indicating that it is a later addition. b) The axes highlighted in red. c) The horse, the larger cup-mark and the cross in circle highlighted in red.

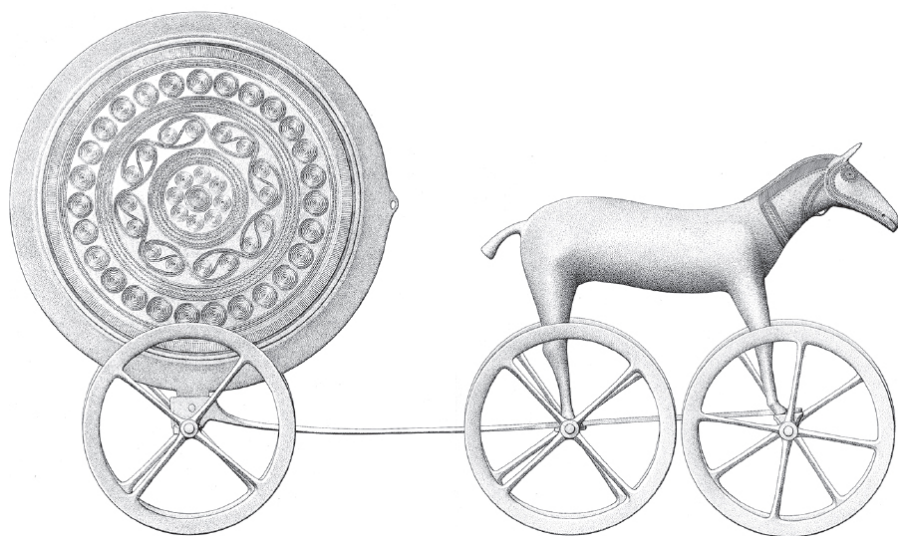


Figure 4.6. The Trundholm chariot. From Aner and Kersten 1976.

When we are looking at the day-side of the disc the horse is pulling the sun towards the right, which is the way sun moves across the firmament, when looking at it from a position in the northern hemisphere. Consequently, when looking at the other darker side of the disc, the horse is drawing the sun from right to left, which would correspond to the route the sun would travel in the nighttime in order to reach its position in the east where it would rise again in the morning (Kaul 1998: 185–187). This right–left logic – corresponding to day and night respectively – has been convincingly demonstrated in Late Bronze Age iconography, where it appears in the decoration of numerous metal razors (Kaul 1998); but this feature seems to have existed already around 1400 BC.

The day-side of the disc is divided into three segments, each of which is made up of a brim of spiral decoration. At the edge of the disc there is a decoration of radiating lines resembling the shining sun. The other darker side is also divided into three segments, but these are slightly different and especially the brim in the middle contrast with the other side as the ornament seems to refer to a stylized axe motif (Kristiansen 2004; Goldhahn 2013: 554–557).

In summary, the Trundholm chariot appears to reveal a narrative about the shining sun that is drawn during the day from left to right across the firmament by a horse, while during the night the sun is drawn by a horse from right to left in the underworld. In the night-time the sun shares its position with the axe.

Both the Trundholm chariot and the Gladsax carving date to Montelius' period II and both share a common set of images like the sun symbol, the

horse motif and the axe motif. It thus seems justified to try to discuss the Gladsax carvings in relation to the solar symbolism displayed on the Trundholm chariot.

When trying to interpret the Gladsax imagery, the starting point is the notion that ships moving to the right are active during the day and ships moving to the left are active during the night. There are 11 ships, and in five instances the direction of sailing can be determined, and it turns out that four of these ships are sailing to the right and only one is sailing to the left.

Three of the axes are concentrated in the uppermost part of the panel and one is situated in the bottom left part of the panel. These are all in what seems to be one-to-one size. However, there is also a miniature axe to the right in the bottom part of the panel that merges into one of the ships. Thus we can follow the axes from the upper part of the panel to the bottom left: they decrease from being three grouped together, to one single, and finally one miniature axe (Fig. 4.5b).

This series of axes is counterbalanced by a series of a horse, a larger cup-mark and a cross in a circle, all of which are situated aboard ships (4.5c). To the bottom left there is a horse standing on a ship facing right, and above this scene we see a larger cup-mark situated at the top of the very fore of another ship. Slightly above this ship, to the right, there is yet another ship with a wheel cross in the aft. By its very position this wheel cross refers back to the larger cup mark in the previous section; this is possibly a representation of the growing and rising sun that is about to leave the ship and will soon be drawn by the horse – from left to right – across the firmament. A possible conclusion is thus that the ships sailing to the right reveal a situation in the morning when the day is about to break, and the axes which, according to the Trundholm disc, are associated with the night disappear by merging into the ships.

In conclusion, it seems as if the Gladsax carving is referring to similar sets of ideas to the Trundholm chariot – i.e. the axe symbolism is related to the night and horses or ships moving to the right are active during the daytime, though the ship motif is found only at Gladsax.

There are yet another two rock carvings dating to phase 2 that have traits indicating that they may be related to solar symbolism, justifying a discussion of them in relation to the Gladsax carving.

The carvings at Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1 consist of 11 separate units scattered around in the grounds of a private house (Broström and Ihrestam 2013a); these have various characteristics, but some of them may be related to the discussion of solar symbolism.

In the western part there is a composition of two isolated ships on the top of each other and a larger cup-mark incorporated in one of the ships (unite B): the ship on the top is an empty ship sailing to the left, and it has a larger cup-mark incorporated in the hull, while the lower ship is crewed by six people and sailing to the right. This composition may be interpreted as a day ship and a night ship and a sun symbol in between (Fig. 4.7).



Figure 4.7. A composition of two ships on top of each other and a larger cup-mark incorporated into one of the ships, Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

To the north is unit H, which holds four ships, though the one on the top is very fragmented. The two ships at the bottom seem to be sailing to the left, while the ship above these is sailing to the right. Interestingly, there is a miniature axe at the bottom of the composition associated with the ships going to the left. The direction of sailing indicates that we are dealing with a situation at night. Likewise on the Trundholm disc and on the Gladsax carving this axe is associated with the night (Fig. 4.8).

Solar symbolism may also be detected at Simrishamn 23:1, where in phase 2 there was a horse motif added close to a Rørby ship from phase 1 (Fig. 2.32). The back of the horse is aligned to the ship as if they were meant to be related (Goldhahn 2005; Kaul 2004: 331). There is also a mantle image fitted towards the belly of the horse (Burenhult 1980: 83).

In accordance with Joakim Goldhahn, I find it reasonable to think of the mantle image as not merely an image representing a mantle; the outline was intended to denote the route taken by the sun across the sky and below the earth (2005). If we regard the baseline as a representation of the underworld and the arch a representation of the sky, the position of the horse indicates that we are dealing with a horse that is active in the evening. The addition of the mantle was thereby a significant detail that helped to put the horse in a time-space-framework.



Figure 4.8. Four ship images, an axe motif, a fragmented circle image and two cup-marks. Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

In conclusion the carvings discussed in this section demonstrate the ship, the axe and the horse to be important agents related to the idea of solar symbolism.

The Kivik carving – ships and death rituals

There exists an enormous literature concerning the interpretation of the Kivik monument, which has recently been summarized in Goldhahn 2013. The most detailed images are to be found on slabs 7 and 8 (Figs 2.34, 2.35). The slabs are framed and inside each frame the images are arranged to create a division into three sections. The orientation of the chariot and the people shows that there is directionality in the images, where one is led from to one composition to another one. In the top sections of the two slabs the charioteer plus eight people are moving to the left. Then there is another scene where two people are found inside a circle image. The numbers of eight or nine people are then repeated three times, in three different compositions, and it is easy to imagine that it is the same group of people that are recurring with different kinds of attributes and engaged in various kinds of rituals (Skoglund 2013b).

The vast majority of scholars are agreed that it is parts of the actual death rituals that are represented on slabs 7 and 8. However, it seems fairly possible that at least some of the images on the other slabs are also related to images on slabs 7 and 8 and thus could be seen as part of a larger narrative. This is especially clear when it comes to the horse images and circle images.

On slab no. 7 there is a chariot driving to the left. There is a curiosity concerning the chariot, because this image is usually presented as if the charioteer is standing on the top of the wagon box, which is not a realistic way of representing a charioteer and a chariot that is moving forward. Furthermore, the wagon box itself is also rather small in relation to the person, and in the most recent documentation of the slab, its existence has been questioned (Toreld and Andersson 2015).

A plausible explanation is that the charioteer is meant to be standing beside the chariot, on the right hand side on the ground, thus the empty chariot is going forward very slowly. This is consistent, as the chariot is depicted as part of a procession, otherwise consisting of walking people. Consequently, focus in this image is not on the chariot as a war machine controlled by a charioteer, but on the construction itself – i.e. the two wheels and the two horses. The two wheels and the two horses can be seen again on slabs 3, 4 and 6, where they occur as a pair of horses, and a pair of wheel crosses, multiplied twice inside well-defined frames. According to Toreld and Andersson's recent documentation additional horses are to be found on slab no. 2 (Fig. 2.35) (Toreld and Andersson 2015).

The horses and wheels on slabs 3, 4 and 6 probably refer back to the chariot and are meant to represent the dismantled chariot. Dismantled chariots are a well-known feature in the archeological record. Pharaoh Tutankhamun's antechamber and treasury there were altogether six chariots found during the excavations in the 1920s. All of these were dismantled into their component parts for compactness when stored in the grave (Littauer and Crouwel 1985).

Another prominent example is the famous burial at Vix in France, dated to the late 6th to the early 5th century BC, which held a dismantled wagon with four wheels; these were not attached to the wagon, but leaning against the chamber's eastern wall (Arnold 1989: fig. 1).

By dismantling the chariot the construction was broken up and the different parts could be used as individual objects. As has been inferred from Bronze Age iconography, the wheel held a special significance as a representation of the sun, and when dismantled from the axle the wheels could be used in a more flexible way.

The combination of wheels (sun symbols), horses and also axes and ships which is to be seen on the Kivik slabs is in certain respects a parallel to the Gladsax carving, where similar sets of images occur. However, in Kivik these symbols are activated as parts of a death ritual. A parallel to this situation is the Villfara monument (Östra Tommarp 22:1) (Fig. 2.24) (Johannsen 2013). Like Kivik, this carving was found in a grave context. Here we find a chariot, a horse and two ships.

At both Kivik and Villfara we find the ships and sun symbols related to a death ritual, which indicates that these motifs were key symbols that could be activated in different kinds of contexts.

The Östra Nöbbelöv panel – ships and humans

The Östra Nöbbelöv panels 127 and 129 were discovered during an archaeological excavation in 2009. Östra Nöbbelöv 127 measures 9.3×6.1 metres and consists of four ship images, one of which is fragmentary, and a cup-mark. Twenty metres south of Östra Nöbbelöv 127 is Östra Nöbbelöv 129, measuring 15×9.3 metres, which holds six ship images, three feet, a hand, a human figure and what seems to be two people joined together, and finally three cup-marks (Fig. 4.9a–d).

The panel of 129 is interesting as it includes three human figures, three feet images and a human hand, which all relate to various aspects of the human body. A key image is the two human images which are joined together – originally interpreted as two dressed people with raised hands. As stated in the excavation report, however, even though each person has a head and two arms, there are another two additional lines confusing this interpretation (Wallin 2010).



Figure 4.9a–d. The Östra Nöbbelöv panel 129. a) To the left the original motif with the contour of a broken ship marked by yellow and red lines by the author, and to the right the two parts of the ship have been extracted and put together; when the ship is taken away we are left with two dressed human images with parallels in contemporary rock art. b) Composition of a presumed naked human and two other humans on the top and an additional ship image (compare 4.9a). c) Composition of three footprints. d) Composition of two ship images and an associated hand motif. Remodeled by Richard

It is in fact possible to extract a half ship from the top of each of the human images; as if each of the human figures is lifting a half a ship on his shoulder. When put together, the two halves make up a 25-centimetre-long ship of a type that is known in contemporary rock art (Fig. 4.9a).

When the ship is removed, we are left with two human figures. The way these human images are depicted – with broad shoulders and lacking arms – is explained if we assume that they are wearing mantles with their arms hidden below the cloth. This observation has been discussed earlier by Bertil Almgren on the basis of human images in Östergötland and Scania (Fig. 4.10) (1960: 30–32).

Below the two human images wrapped in clothes, there is yet another human image with a different appearance. This image is viewed from the side, and not from the front, as in the earlier example. The legs are exposed, indicating that at least the lower part of the body is naked. Finally, this image is differently oriented. It is at an angle of 90° to the others, giving the impression that if the naked person is standing, the dressed person is lying down or vice versa (Fig. 4.9b).



Figure 4.10. Part of the Östra Eneby panel 27:1 at Norrköping with a couple of human images resembling the ones from Östra Nöbbelöv 129. Compare Fig. 4.9a. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

This situation is repeated in the composition of the three feet images which are situated 0.5 metres west of the composition discussed here. Here we find three feet displaying toes and two of these make up a pair, while the third foot is oriented at 90° towards the paired feet. The ways the three feet are paired

and oriented thereby refer back to the way the human images in the previous section were arranged in relation to each other (Fig. 4.9c).

Some 0.5 metres west of this composition is yet another composition of two ships and a hand motif. The two ships are of the same size and depicted on top of each other as if they define a pair. The hand motif is situated just below the lowest ship. Again we find a composition of three, where one motif stands out as different, either in shape or in orientation (Fig. 4.9d).

This panel has a complex syntax as it combines human images and foot soles. As demonstrated by Jarl Nordbladh (1980) and Katherine Hauptman Wahlgren, this only occurs in panels with four different kinds of motifs or more (2002: 118–122).

Furthermore, the images seem to focus on the relationship between bodies and ships. If we accept the idea that the different constellations of three images represent the same three characters in various shapes, these scenes could be interpreted as a narrative. There is nothing in this imagery indicating that we are dealing with a story concerning the journey of the sun, as axes, horses and circle images are lacking. Instead the different constellations may relate to shape shifting. In this specific context the shape shifting seems to concern man and ships, as the two humans in the initial scene seem to be attached to a broken ship and in the end of the sequence we are left with two ships and a hand motif.

The idea of humans being transformed into various kinds of objects or animals, and back to humans again, is a widespread concept of great antiquity; it is present in epic poems like the *Gilgamesh* epic or in the *Iliad*. In anthropology we are aware of similar notions in the idea of totems, where the humans identify themselves with animals or objects (Levi-Strauss 1964).

Another concern is the possible relation to creation myths which are essential in human understandings of the world. Where many of these underline the formation of an ordered world out of chaos (Leeming and Leeming 1994); this would fit into the idea presented above that various features originated out of a broken ship.

A more specific concern is the relationship between this sequence of images and the idea of creation as expressed in Old Norse literature. In *Völuspá* we are told that the gods found the lifeless Ask and Embla ‘on (the) land’, which is traditionally interpreted as ‘on the shore’, though other interpretations are possible, and gave them life. In another version of the myth – given by Snorri – we are informed that the gods were walking along the seashore and found two trees, which in this case could refer to either tree trunks or wooden pieces. They picked them up, created humans out of them, and gave them clothes (Hultgård 2006).

Traditionally, the Old Norse creation myth is related to an Indo-European background and the creation of humans out of trees is emphasized. In such interpretations the material is standardized, and the specific Scandinavian connection to the sea and the shoreline is played down. An alternative

approach views the emphasis on the seashore as an echo of an older Scandinavian maritime worldview going back to the Bronze Age.

The narrative character of Scanian rock art, 1400–1100 BC

As demonstrated above, the Scanian rock art tradition changed character around 1400 BC as it went from a rather additive tradition, where one kind of image was repeated over again, to a situation where images are sometimes arranged in sequences forming narratives. From the examples given above, we learn that these narratives had different functions and contents: certain images represented rather specific values and ideas while the ship was a key symbol that could be activated in a broad range of different contexts.

These narratives do not only differ in content but also in the way images are arranged and thus they represent different modes of presenting a narrative.

Below I will present a categorization of narratives that draws on the discussion of how to categorize visual narratives (Dehejia 1990, 1991; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999: Chapter 1; Wolf 2005: 431–435). I am particularly inspired by a couple of papers by Vidya Dehejia, where she discusses different kinds of visual narration in Early Buddhist Art (1990, 1991). Åsa Fredell has previously applied a similar narrative approach to Scandinavian rock art images, although without using this specific terminology (Fredell 2002, 2003).

Among the different kinds of narrative schemes, the *monoscenic* narrative is the simplest way to introduce a narrative: this mode centres on a single occasion in a story; it is usually an easily identifiable event and it serves as a reference to a narrative. This system functions well when the larger story is known to the public (Dehejia 1990: 378). In the Scanian corpus the horse and cape-figure from Simrishamn 23:1 fit into this characterization. If alone, the horse would only have been a horse floating in time and space, but the vault of the mantle symbolizing the sky helps to put the horse in a time-space framework (Fig. 2.32).

In the *synoptic* narrative multiple episodes from a story are depicted, but their temporal sequence is not communicated, and there is no wish to express either causality or temporality. Rather than putting elements together, a whole is given, and has to be taken apart in order to be intelligible (Dehejia 1990: 382–383). One of the compositions at Östra Nöbbelöv 85:1 might fit into this characterization (Fig. 4.7); as the night ship here is presented above the day ship, indicating a lack of a coherence space framework, as the night ships logically should be positioned below the day ship.

The *continuous* narrative depicts successive episodes of a story within a single frame where the protagonist is repeated in the course of the narrative.

Consecutive time frames are presented within a single visual field, without dividers to distinguish one episode from the other. The comprehension of a continuous narrative requires awareness that more than one moment is presented within the same visual field. The continuous narrative makes time visible by comparing the same person or object in different movements or states (Dehejia 1990: 385).

This way of presenting a narrative is found at Gladsax, where the successive appearance of axes, ships and sun symbols reveals a notion of temporality linked to the idea of the axes diminishing, and disappearing, and giving way to the rising and growing sun (Fig. 4.5a–c). A similar notion of temporality is present in Östra Nöbbelöv 129, where the repeated occurrence of the number of three characters, one of which is oriented differently from the others, links the different scenes to each other, and creates a sense of time (Fig. 4.9a–d).

Finally, there is the *linear* narrative, which, like the continuous narrative contains the repeated appearance of the protagonist at different times and places. In contrast to the continuous narrative, which operates by intrinsic criteria, requiring an integrated effort by the mind and the eye, the linear narrative operates by extrinsic criteria where compositional means – usually frames – are used to demarcate temporal divisions. Each scene is a unit in itself and each event occurs at one particular moment, in one particular space (Dehejia 1990: 386). This notion of a linear narrative is at hand in the Kivik monument (Södra Mellby 42:1), where the different scenes relating to the death ritual are separated by frames or by a linear arrangement in three different levels on slabs 7 and 8 (Figs 2.34, 2.35).

As stated in the introduction, this move towards a narrative way of presenting images can be described as a change from an iconic mode of doing rock art to a narrative way of doing rock art (Klassen 1998: 44–45). This is not to say that the previous phase entirely lacked narrative elements. For example, the combination of a ship, two axes and a chariot at Simrishamn 23:1, or the paired axes held by humans at Simrishamn 15:1 (Fig. 2.27), are obvious examples of figurative images that could refer to oral narratives. Even so, these are rather exceptions from the general pattern and there are no examples of different types of narrative modes being in use in parallel.

As in the early Buddhist Indian art described by Vidya Dehejia (1990, 1991), several narrative modes operated in parallel in south-east Scania 1400–1100 BC. The phase stands out as creative, when it comes to finding solutions to the problem of presenting a narrative unfolding in time. The problem of how to progress from space to time was tackled from different angles. This broad repertoire of different modes of presenting narratives would have required a ‘*visual literacy*’ (Messaris 1994), an ability to construct further layers of meaning from visual images by combining them into sequences, something that is not detectable in the previous period.

Solar symbolism and martial ideals – contrasting pictures

Even though there was a great complexity in the ways images were presented in south-east Scania 1400–1100 BC, there were limitations in what kind of images were displayed. For example, there are no warrior or hunting scenes. Axes are present, but these are never attached to humans, spears are lacking and there are no scenes displaying prey or people involved in hunting.

In this respect, Scanian rock art differs from contemporary rock art further to the north. In the Norrköping area there are many panels including prey and miniature weapons, but also axes and swords in one-to-one size (Nordén 1925; Hauptman Wahlgren 2002), and the situation is similar in Bohuslän (Ling 2008, Ling and Cornell 2010; Toreld 2015), where the Fossum panel is good example of imageries displaying duels and hunting scenes (Melheim 2013). These, and similar scenes (Skoglund 2010), seem to express various aspects of an aristocratic ideal where hunting and combat were vital ingredients (Fig. 4.11). There is a regional variation in these matters, with the Uppland area almost lacking violent scenes but showing palstaves that are not associated with humans (Ling 2013), thus in certain respects this resembles the situation in Scania.

The lack of martial imagery in south-east Scania does not imply that these ideals were unknown in this and adjoining regions in present-day Denmark. Due to excellent preservation conditions, the well-preserved Danish oak coffin graves from Jutland (Boye 1896), provide insight into the use of various metal items in the construction of personal identities including the display of warriorhood and martial identities (Treherne 1995); this has also been explored by various scholars in other parts of southern Scandinavia and Germany (Sørensen 1997, 2010; Bergerbrant 2007; Kristiansen 2011, 2012).

Especially noteworthy is the number of swords found in south Scandinavia, which is impressing in a comparative European perspective. In present-day Denmark alone there are 2,000 swords known from the period 1500–1100 BC (Thrane 2005); only Ireland and certain parts of central Europe have an equal density of swords during this period (Harding 2000). Recent calculations estimate that perhaps as much as 12–35% of the male population in present-day Denmark and adjoining areas of northern Germany were buried with a sword (Bunnefeld 2013: 422).



Figure 4.11a–b. Various scenes from the Norrköping area displaying martial ideals. a) Östra Eneby 1 (Himmelstalund). b) Östra Eneby 27 (Leonardsberg). Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Metal items do not only provide insight into the construction of social identities, but may also give information of a more general character concerning the social organization of society.

Actually, a separation between martial ideals and the other spheres of society seems to be present in metalwork in south Scandinavia, especially

during Montelius' period II (Kristiansen 1983). As pointed out by Kristian Kristiansen, the Scandinavian metalwork can be divided in four classes based on a combination of function, decoration and depositional practice (2012: 384–385) (Fig. 4.12).

There are highly elaborate ceremonial objects which in Montelius' period II are decorated with spiral ornaments. These objects are never found in graves, but were deposited in hoards.

There are personal objects often decorated with spirals. These objects are often found in graves and include full-hilted swords, axes, razors, tweezers, belt hooks, belt plates and neck collars. In addition to the spiral, or sun symbol, often found on these objects, there are also occur representations of ships and horses; examples are razors in the shape of ships and razors and belt hooks with horses' heads. Use wear analysis of the full-hilted swords demonstrates little or no use, and they are interpreted as having been used for parades and ceremonies. This group of objects had a religious significance attached to solar symbolism.

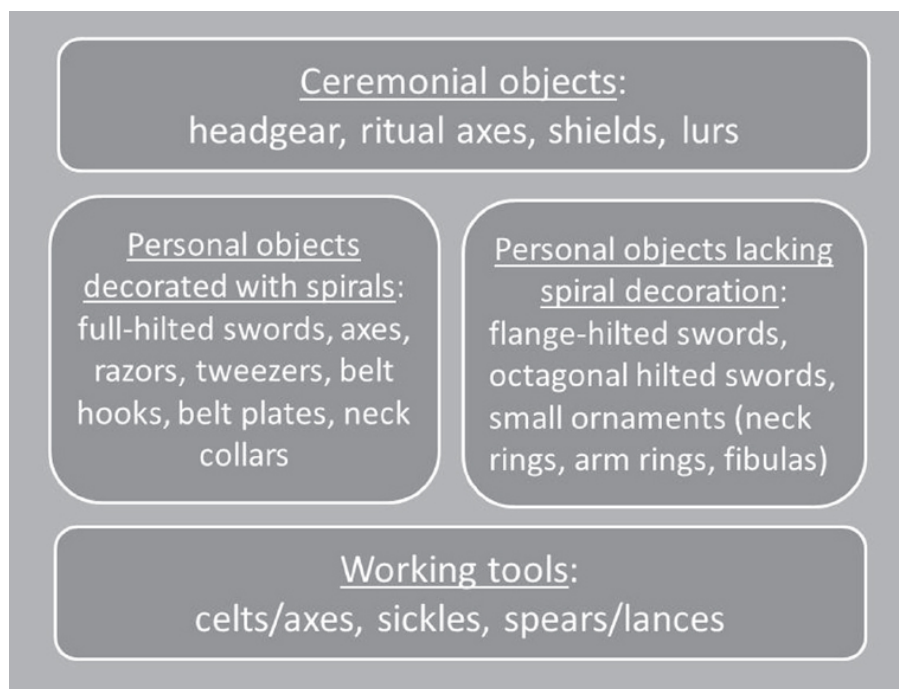


Figure 4.12. The model illustrates the division of bronze artefacts into different categories in Montelius' period II. Based on information in Kristiansen 2012: 384–385.

There are personal objects lacking spiral decoration. These objects are often found in graves and include flange-hilted swords, octagonal hilted swords and small ornaments. The swords in this group show traits of use wear and have been interpreted as warriors' swords used in fighting and combat. These personal artefacts operated in a different ritual and social encounter from the

ones in the previous group.

There are working tools such as celts/axes, sickles and spears/lances, which are rarely found in graves, but are frequent as single finds or in hoards.

The martial ideal, where the flange-hilted sword was a central component, did not enter the open-air panels in Scania. Instead the figurative art of Scanian rock art has its counterpart in the other sphere of personal objects discussed above, namely, objects decorated with spirals.

It is inside this group of artefacts we find representations of the sun (spirals), the ship (the shape of the razor), the horse (the horse's head on razors and belt hooks) and finally palstaves that are represented in southeast Scanian rock art 1400–1100 BC. This homology between objects with spiral decoration and rock art helps to explain why swords play such an insignificant role in Scanian rock art.

Miniature swords appear at Kivik, but they play a passive role and the martial aspect of the sword is not in focus. Again, this is consistent with the observation that the Scanian rock art represents a similar kind of social and ritual sphere to spiral-ornamented objects, where the swords had a symbolic role for parades and ceremonies (Kristiansen 2011, 2012).

The palstave manifests itself differently in Scanian rock art; it is depicted in one-to-one size and it is incorporated into narratives concerning the sun. According to Montelius, the palstaves can be divided into two types – an undecorated working axe mostly found in hoards, and a decorated axe – labelled weapon axe by Montelius – which are found in hoards but more often in graves (Fig. 4.13) (Montelius 1922: 27–28; see also Persson 1983).

The palstaves found in graves on the Danish islands have been discussed by Kristiansen, who concludes that these palstaves are associated with the Nordic full-hilted swords – i.e. they are associated with the class of objects that have spiral decoration. They appear in highly elaborate graves, but they may also occur as the only find in a grave. Kristiansen regards these axes as primarily ritual objects, in line with the larger cult axes, as they never demonstrate use wear (1983: 76). To interpret these axes as weapons is therefore probably wrong; the spiral decoration, lack of use wear, and their associations with the full-hilted sword link them to a ritual sphere of society concerned with solar symbolism. Most probably their association with solar symbolism is the reason why they are depicted in Scanian rock art.

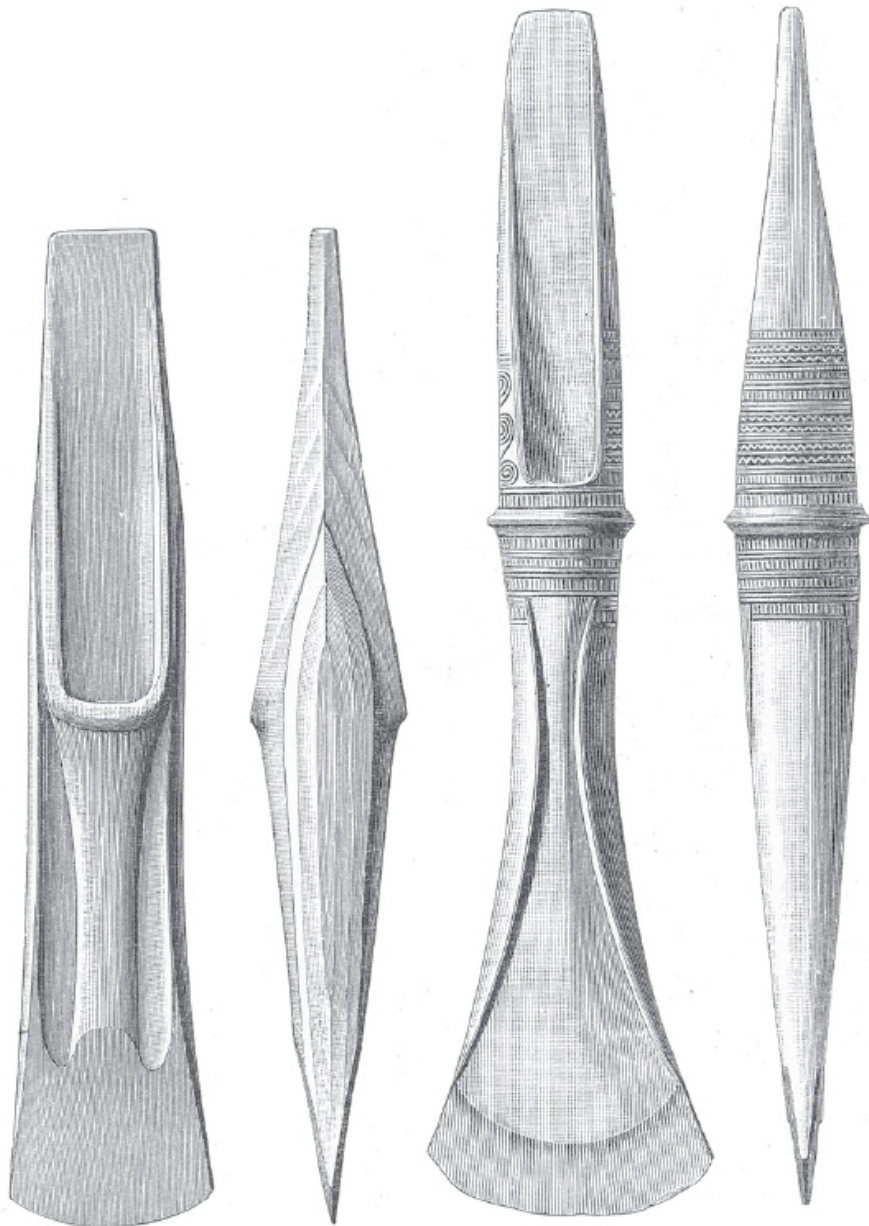


Figure 4.13. Two types of palstaves: an undecorated working axe to the left and a decorated ceremonial axe to the right. Both specimens are from Scania. From Montelius 1922: 55.

If we look at a distribution map of palstaves in Scania, we see they are evenly distributed inside the Bronze Age core areas as they are defined by the distribution of mounds and cairns (Persson 1983: 118). The occurrence of the two subtypes of palstaves – the decorated unused palstave and the undecorated working palstave – in the same regions is an interesting phenomenon, as it testifies to a similar kind of ritualization as was the case

with the sword: in both cases there were objects used in practice and objects that primarily had a ritual function. Probably it is the latter kind of axes that are depicted in rock art.

A conclusion to be drawn from the above discussion is that the rock art images represent only one out of several social spheres of interaction, in Scanian Bronze Age society 1400–1100 BC.

Only ships, 1100–800 BC

Apart from the isolated ship at Simrishamn 18:1 which is only known from documents, the only site that clearly can be attributed to this period is Simrishamn 2.1 (Fig. 2.26). Here we find a few ships with upturned prows ending in stylized animals' heads or perhaps rather aquatic birds' heads which are typical of period IV (Althin 1945: Taf. 37; Ling 2008: Fig. 7.35: 11). Interestingly, there are now also ship images on the nearby island of Bornholm that lack ships from the Early Bronze Age. The tradition on Bornholm is similar to the one in Scania during this phase, in the sense that ship image dominates, even though other motifs like circle images and feet images of uncertain age also occur (Figs 5.1, 5.2) (Kaul *et al.* eds 2005).

Around 1100 BC there is a change in the figurative art that can be seen both in the metals and on the rock art panels. In the Scanian material there is a distinct decline in the number of rock art sites and the narrative scenes disappear from the record. What remains are the ship motifs that stand in isolation without accompanying figures.

Changes also occurred in representations of the horse in metals. Plastic models of horses in the shape of complete horses, as known from Trundholm and Tågaborg, or horses' heads on belt hooks and razor handles, disappeared from the record (Kaul 1998, 2013b: 169–170). In parallel to these changes, the idea of the sun's journey is now expressed by the means of decoration on metal razors. The former concept focusing on the horse, the ship, the axe and the sun is modified, and new elements like the fish, the bird and the snake are introduced. This remodeled concept of the sun's journey is not visualized in the Scanian rock carvings; we can infer it only from metal razors.



Figure 5.1. A ship dating to Montelius' period IV at Madsebakken, Bornholm. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Therefore, changes in the visual tradition around 1100 BC may be due to influences from the central European Urnfield cultures, where only a limited number of symbols were expressed in metals to be seen by the public. The figurative art of the Urnfield culture is mainly restricted to birds, ships and circle motifs. Influences from the Urnfield culture could help to explain the removal of the horse and axe from the carvings and their new distribution as decorative elements on the blades of razors. In this context they occur as stylized sun-horses and mushroom-shaped symbols, on private objects not intended for public display.



Figure 5.2. View towards the sea from Madsebakken on Bornholm. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Interestingly, the more prominent position on the handle of the razor was overtaken by the aquatic bird that replaced the horse as a plastic representation on razors. The S-shaped handle depicting a stylized birds head developed under influence from the central European aquatic bird motif (Sprockhoff 1937; Kaul 1998: 135).

The display of individuals, 800–200 BC

There are three sites that can be attributed to this period, but it is only Järrestad that has a substantial number of figures. As in the earlier phase, the carvings in phase 4 should be seen in the light of rock art on the nearby island of Bornholm where similar kinds of ships dating to the period 800–200 BC are to be found (Kaul *et al.* eds 2005).

The Järrestad panel underwent significant changes around 800 BC as it was included in a burial ground (Skoglund 2013a). Today this burial ground consists of three mounds 4, 10 and 12 m in diameter and between 0.2 and 0.7 metres high, but additional features most probably exist below ground (Järrestad 13:2–4) (Fig. 6.1). The mounds have been excavated on two occasions and revealed six burials containing personal ornaments such as dress pins, a button and a neck ring, dating these features to a later part of Montelius' period V and the succeeding period VI, *c.* 800–500 BC (Althin 1945: 81–89; Stjernquist 1961: 79; Hjärthner-Holdar 1993: 130; Söderberg and Hellerström 2003: 50–54).



Figure 6.1. The Järrestad 13:1 panel with the largest burial mound in the background. Photo: Peter Skoglund.

Interestingly, a similar close relationship exists between the two other carvings dating to this period and nearby mounds, even though the information concerning these graves is insufficient. The mound Simrishamn 15:2 was described by Bruzelius as a small mound, one alen (0.6 metres) high, situated directly east of the rock art panel. Today there are no traces of this mound. The mound Simris 10:1 still exists and it is 2.2 metres high and 15 × 10 metres large, but damaged by the construction of a small building in the 1830s. When soil was removed from the mound in the 1860s, a rock art panel came to light underneath the periphery of the mound (Simris 10:2). Parts of the rock were removed, and ended up as fill in a road, where it was identified by Nils Gustaf Bruzelius (1880–82) (Fig. 2.25).

Another characteristic making these sites different from the other periods is that there are no examples of panels located at, or very close to, the Bronze Age shoreline. The site closest to the sea is Simrishamn 15:1, which is located 500 metres from the coast. Given that the data are very limited; these observations could of course change in the future, if more locales from this period come to light.

Any attempt to characterize this period from an iconographic perspective must have Järrestad as a starting point, as this is the only panel where the ships are supplemented by other kinds of motifs like shoe images, riders and a human image. Worth noting is the large human image at Järrestad often called the ‘Dancer’, although the winged sword scabbard certainly indicates that the image was intended to represent a warrior. Similar images are found in great

numbers in the province of Bohuslän in Sweden, and in the adjoining province of Østfold in Norway. It is not only the sword scabbard that justifies this parallel, but also the athletic shape of the body, which strongly resembles examples from western Scandinavia showing people involved in exercise and sports.

In two respects this human image differs from all other human images found in Scanian rock art: the size – it is over-dimensioned – and the fact that it occurs in isolation without accompanying human images or objects directly associated with it. The human images that appear in phases 1 and 2 are part of larger contexts involving other human images or objects where there is a reference to something beyond the human images. For example, in phase 1, the human images are carrying axes and in phase 2 the human images are parts or sequences in larger narratives. The larger human image at Järrestad is different, because the focus is on the athletic appearance of the body, the scabbard and the art of being a warrior.

A similar contrast is to be seen when studying the horse motifs. In phase 2 the horse is either part of a ship where it occurs as a horse's head in the fore or aft, or it is parts of narratives referring to the journey of the sun. At the beginning of phase 4 the horse's head is still to be seen on ships, but in the Pre-Roman Iron Age the horse head disappears from the ships and is replaced, for example, by the fork-shaped endings that we also know from the Hjortspring boat.

In phase 4 we see for the first time the combination of humans and horses – i.e. horses and riders – that occurs in six cases on the Järrestad panel. There is a clear emphasis on the riders controlling the horses by holding back their heads with a bridle, thus demonstrating a detailed knowledge of the art of riding; this way of using a horse stands in contrast to earlier depictions of horses and chariots or sun-horses. Again, we see that certain kinds of skills attached to specific groups of people are highlighted in the panel.

To summarize, the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age images at Järrestad seem to signify skills and positions held by certain individuals in society – something that is strengthened by their association and close spatial relationship with the nearby graves.

A history of the Scanian landscape

The above chapters have demonstrated the possibilities of dividing the Scanian rock art tradition into four phases, each with its own characteristics. Up to this point rock art has been viewed in isolation, but by its very position in a cultural landscape, rock art was part of a wider landscape setting, which underwent significant changes during the period 1700–200 BC.

In the forthcoming sections the cultural landscape in Scania will be discussed using results from contract archaeology, with the focus on graves and settlements. It will be demonstrated that the time points 1400 BC, 1100 BC and 800 BC stand out as watersheds, not only when studying rock art, but also when discussing the wider landscape and the relation to a European context.

The discussion will rely on a number of large-scale excavations carried out in various parts of Scania during the last 15–20 years; their locations and characteristics are presented in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.1.

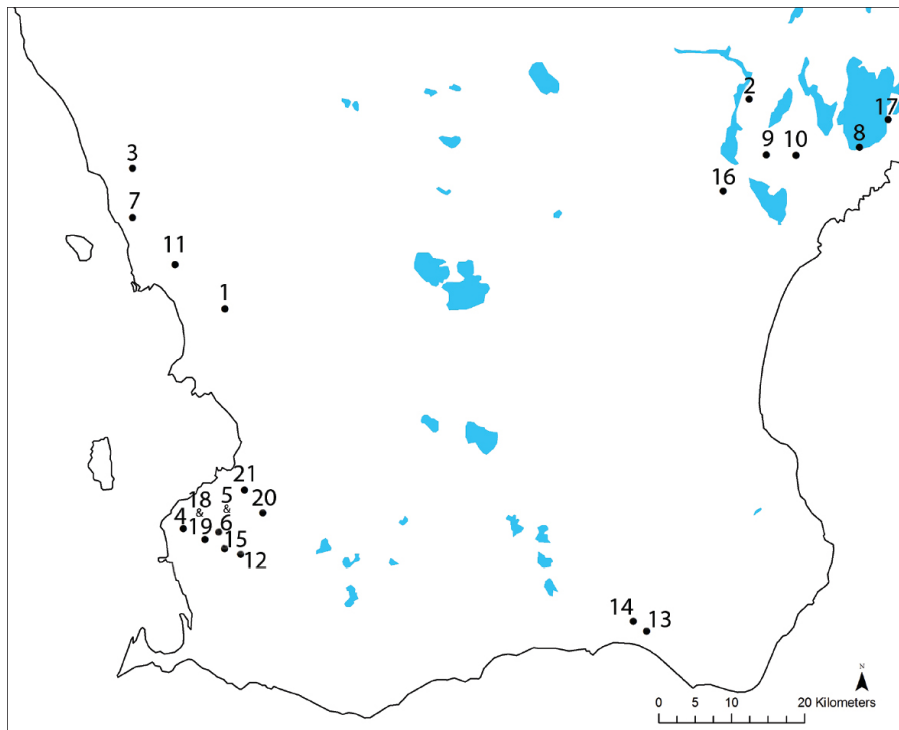


Figure 7.1. Map of Scania with sites discussed in the text indicated. Numbers refer to table 7.1. Map by Tony Axelsson.

The Neolithic tradition, 1700–1400 BC

The structural layout of the earliest Bronze Age settlements has a clear link to a Late Neolithic tradition – not only in the design of the two-aisled buildings, but also in the fact that negative features are generally few and consequently find material such as pottery, bones and flint is scarce, making it difficult to evaluate the material culture at the settlements (Brink 2009; Björhem and Magnusson Staaf 2006: 151).

Table 7.1. Places referred to by numbers in Figure 7.1.

Number	Place
1	Amållerby
2	Billingsjö
3	Billingsjö
4	Billingsjö
5	Billingsjö
6	Billingsjö
7	Billingsjö
8	Billingsjö
9	Billingsjö
10	Billingsjö
11	Billingsjö
12	Billingsjö
13	Billingsjö
14	Billingsjö
15	Billingsjö
16	Billingsjö
17	Billingsjö
18	Billingsjö
19	Billingsjö
20	Billingsjö
21	Billingsjö

An example of a settlement dating to Montelius' period I and early period II is the Elinelund site south of Malmö. According to the excavators, the documented houses may represent a single farm that was rebuilt six times during the late Neolithic and the earliest Bronze Age (Sarnäs and Nord Paulsson 2001).

The three earlier phases consist of two-aisled longhouses, while the three latter phases consists of three-aisled longhouses. Interestingly, the transition from the older two-aisled house-building tradition to the younger three-aisled house building tradition is thus reflected at this site. According to Magnus Artursson, this change took place quite rapidly somewhere in the time span 1600–1400 BC (2009: 75).

The burial tradition in the earliest Bronze Age, Montelius' period I, is a continuation of a Late Neolithic tradition which is characterized by a great variation in burial types. The burials range from various kinds of gallery graves, to flat earth graves where the body may be wrapped in some organic material, buried in, for example, a wooden cist or in a hollowed-out tree, or in a dugout canoe. Even though inhumation burials dominate, there are many examples of cremations used in death rituals (Strömberg 1975, 1982, 1984; Nordquist 2001; Lindhé and Grehn 2008; Carlie *et al.* 2007).

The start of the Scanian rock art tradition came around 1700 BC. As stated, there are of course problems with the precision of this dating. However, the exact dating of the first rock art may not be that crucial, because judging from the context, the first rock art is a Neolithic, rather than a Bronze Age phenomenon. The flanged axe that is a leading feature in rock art has its counterpart in Late Neolithic metal axes, and there are no typical Bronze Age weapons like swords or spears in full size represented on the panels. Thus, as in the settlement pattern and in the burial tradition, we see a clear link in the flanged axes depicted in rock art between Montelius' period I and a Late Neolithic tradition.

A new ritual landscape, 1400–1100 BC

There are rather few excavated settlements covering larger parts of the period 1400–1100 BC, especially if one is interesting in sites with more than one

house, and a substantial number of ^{14}C -dated features. Recently excavated examples include the sites Elinelund (Sarnäs and Nord Paulsson 2001), VKB SU 14 (Artursson 2005: 133–135) and Hunneberget (Balic and Edring 2003).

In this period the longhouses were made as three-aisled buildings which make them different from the ones built in the Neolithic and the earliest Bronze Age. However, in other respects there was continuity.

The layout of the areas outside the longhouses is similar to the previous period, as negative features are scarce; it is difficult to evaluate the agricultural production. Generally, the only containers for preserved grains are the postholes, where occasionally finds of emmer and spelt wheat are made and also some fragments of barley (Sarnäs and Nord Paulsson 2001: 56–78).

Also when it comes to the existence of very large longhouses there is continuity between the phases. The presence of these over-dimensioned longhouses is a Neolithic tradition emerging in Scandinavian around 1950 BC and ending around 1100 BC (Artursson 2009: 204). In Scania the only known example is Hunneberget which is 450 m² in area, which should be compared to one of the contemporary houses from Elinelund which is about 200 m² (Artursson 2009: 80). The social and perhaps also ritual function of these very large buildings is difficult to evaluate, but it seems reasonable that they had a certain position that went beyond the individual household.

Around 1500 BC the older tradition of constructing gallery graves came to an end and was replaced by the construction of burial mounds; even though people were still being buried in flat earth graves and in existing gallery graves (Håkansson 1985). The Scanian burials from Montelius' periods II and III, 1500–1100 BC, are often richly equipped with various kinds of bronze artefacts, which have stimulated various kinds of interpretation of the social structure (Håkansson 1985; Larsson 1986: 103–128).

Recently, the social and ritual importance of the construction of the monuments has come into focus. This is thanks to the very detailed investigation of the Skelhøj burial in Jutland, which has provided new insights into the processes involved in the construction of a mound during the Early Bronze Age (Holst *et al.* 2004; Holst and Rasmussen 2012). It was a major undertaking to build a mound, which was not only a monument built in commemoration of an individual, but also a place for the integration of different groups of people in a joint project where social and ritual values were enacted (Holst and Rasmussen 2012: 266–267).

Comparing phase 1 and phase 2 we see a spatial expansion of the ship symbol away from the shoreline to areas further inland, and in parallel the number of axe images diminishes – but interestingly those axe images that can be related to phase 2 are found at inland sites.

The expansion of certain kinds of rock art images into inland areas is contemporary with the introduction of burial mounds constructed on a larger scale. They differ from the older single graves and collective graves in many

respects, one being that they were repeatedly erected at new locations in the landscape (Olausson 1991: 131; Artursson *et al.* 2005: 525–530). The older organization of fixed burial sites gave way to a new idea of organizing the landscape, into a web of mounds located at different places. The beginning of phase 2 is roughly contemporary with the development of this new ritual landscape, based on the frequent construction of mounds: both processes can be described as an expansion of a certain kind of ritual expression towards a larger part of the landscape.

The modifications between phase 1 and phase 2 are detectable when discussing burials and rock art, but in the domestic sphere there was continuity in many respects. The organization of agricultural production probably remained similar between the two phases; the only substantial change was architectural, as the three-aisled houses were introduced around 1600–1400 BC.

Thus the changes around 1400 BC can be understood as a major change in the ritual organization of the landscape including burials and rock art, and possibly as a redefinition of the social positions held by people in society, while the agricultural base remained more or less unaltered.

Crisis and reorganization, 1100–800 BC

Around 1200 BC a gradual shift from inhumation graves towards cremation graves took place in Scania, and this change was concluded around 1100 BC (Håkansson 1985; Jennbert 1992). A parallel process was the replacement of burial mounds by grave-fields, although mounds were still being constructed on a smaller scale (Nord 2009: 106).

The grave-fields in use from around 1100 BC and onwards could either be located at new positions in the landscape, lacking a clear spatial relation to grave mounds (Arcini *et al.* 2007), or – which might have been most common – they were dug into or placed close to earlier Bronze Age monuments, which underlined the continuity or history of the place (Arcini and Svanberg 2005).

In the last ten years there have been several important contributions challenging the view of cremations and grave-fields in the period 1100–800 BC. Large-scale excavations at places like Häljarps mölla, Annelöv and Gualöv, all situated in the province of Scania; have changed our view of death rituals in three important circumstances (Arcini and Svanberg 2005; Arcini 2005, 2007; Arcini *et al.* 2007; Svanberg 2007).

It has been demonstrated that many of those smaller pits with charcoal and limited remains of burnt bones (Sw. *brandgrop*) are not proper graves as believed earlier, but cremation places which give us a new view of the number of individuals buried, which in turn has enabled detailed reconstructions of the demography and the social organization of the community represented by

the buried people (Arcini 2005, 2007; Arcini *et al.* 2007).

Another important result is that the graves were not randomly located at the grave-fields but were located together in smaller groups, probably representing a household or a smaller social unit (Arcini and Svanberg 2005; Arcini *et al.* 2007). Results from the Gualöv excavation support the idea that restricted plots inside the grave-fields were used repeatedly by the same social unit, including men, women and children, for as much as ten generations or about 300 years (Arcini *et al.* 2007).

Finally, it has been argued that these burial groups were related to nearby farmsteads. The idea is that each farmstead had its own burial place within a larger grave-field (Figs 7.2, 7.3) (Arcini and Svanberg 2005: 349–359, Arcini *et al.* 2007: 123–140). At Annelöv the grave-field and an adjoining mound made up a boundary line between two farms, which was manifested in the construction of a palisade that cut through the grave-field (Fig. 7.4) (Arcini and Svanberg 2005: 355–359). A rather close spatial relationship between grave-fields and settlements is also reported from other excavated grave-fields (Edring and Magnell 2004; Sarnäs and Engström 2006: 60–63).

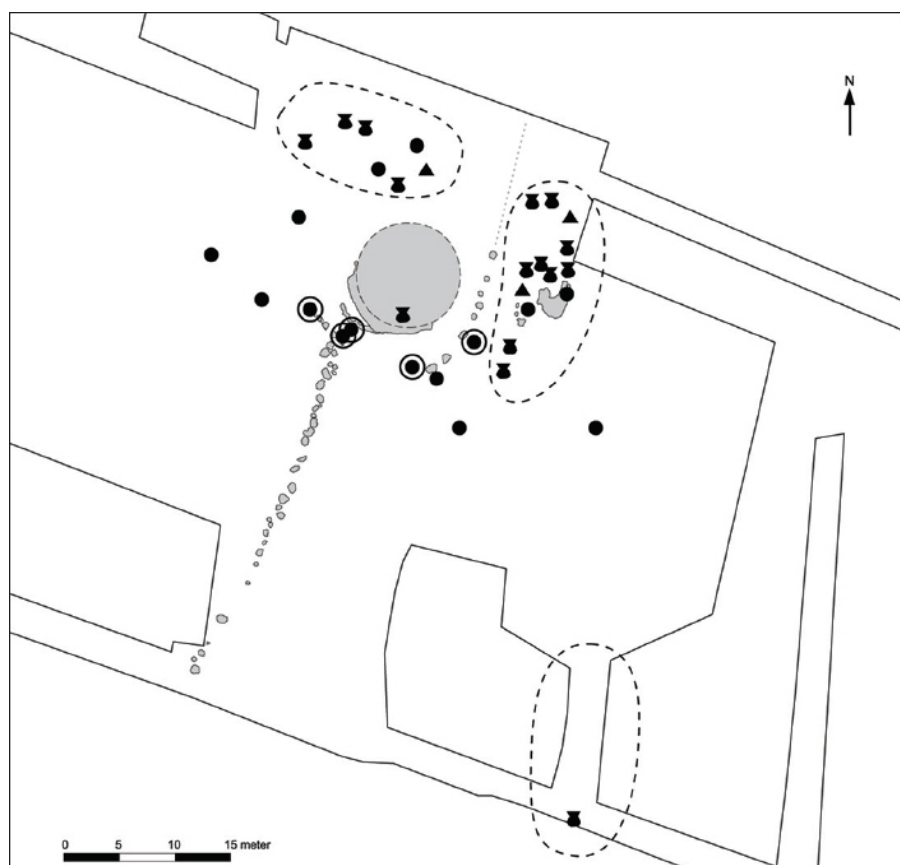


Figure 7.2. Investigated parts of the Annelöv cemetery with the palisade, a presumed mound, urn burials (urn symbols), cremation sites (triangles) and features with bones (dots). The two grave groups

are marked with a dark dashed line. The presumed continuation of the palisade is marked with a grey dotted line. From Arcini and Svanberg 2005: 350.



Figure 7.3. The burial ground at Gualöv with the pyre sites (rectangle) and graves (dots) and larger grave constructions marked. Note that the monumental graves, including the house-shaped monuments, are concentrated in the eastern part of the burial ground. The unequal distribution of the monuments possibly reflects the use of the grave-field by two social groups with an unequal status. From Arcini 2005: 70. Graphics by Staffan Hyll, National Heritage Board.

On a metaphorical level this spatial relationship between houses and graves was reinforced by the introduction of rectangular house-shaped stone settings around 1200 BC. These rather impressive monuments are traditionally labelled cult-houses (sw. *kulthus*) and regarded as a kind of temple where various rituals were conducted. From this perspective they are not primarily regarded as grave monuments, even though burials have been found inside some of the cult-houses (Kaul 1998: Victor 2002; Goldhahn 2007: 44–58, 279–314; Svanberg 2007).

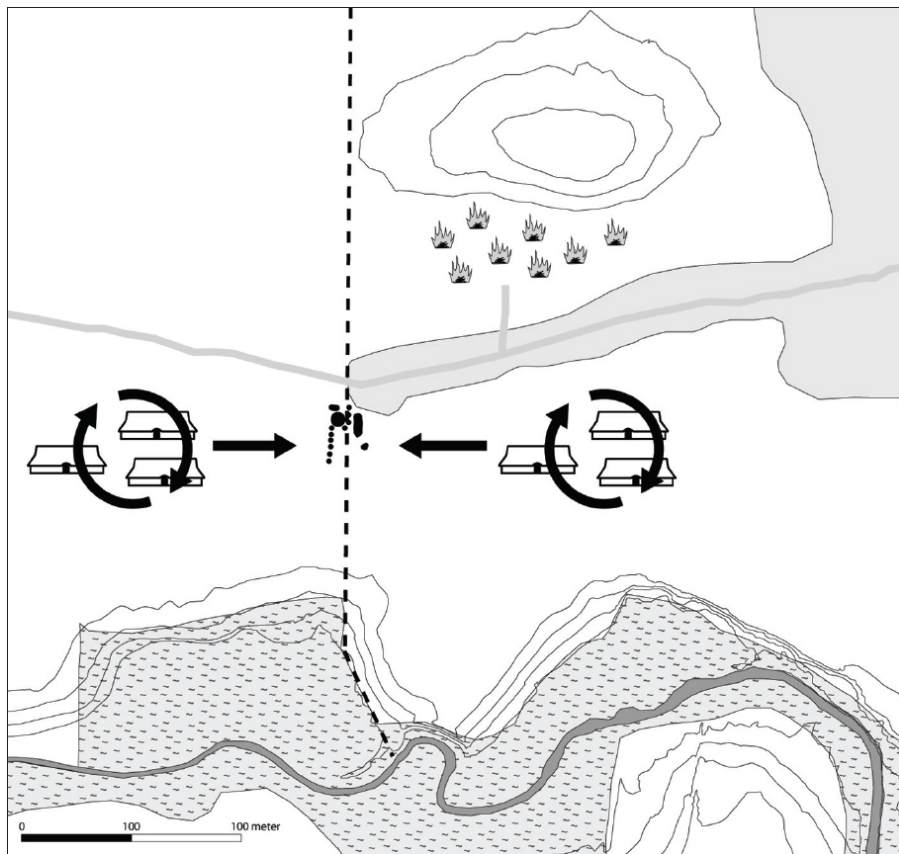


Figure 7.4. Model of the local landscape around the Annelöv cemetery, demonstrating the presumed spatial relationship between houses, cemeteries, and an area with cooking pits related to the landscape as presented in 18th-century cadastral maps. The dashed line represents an 18th-century boundary between two villages which partly overlaps the Bronze Age palisade, light grey areas represent meadows, darker grey line represent roads, white is arable land and the meandering line at the bottom of the image is the River Saxån surrounded by fenland. From Arcini and Svanberg 2005: 357.

The excavation at Gualöv revealed three house-shaped monuments, two of which had the classical ‘cult-house’ shape, and these monuments were constructed in relation to richly equipped cremation burials (Arcini *et al.* 2007: 137–138; Svanberg 2005). At Gualöv these kinds of graves were restricted to the wealthier of the two families buried at the grave-field, indicating that these kinds of monuments were restricted to a limited segment of the society (Arcini *et al.* 2007; Svanberg 2005, 2007).

From this phase – 1100–800 BC – there is a group of several well-excavated settlements with a sequence of ^{14}C -dated houses including Fosie IV (Björhem and Säfvestad 1993), Köpinge (Tesch 1993), Lilla Köpinge (Tesch 1993), Snårarp (Edring and Magnell 2004), Svågertorp B–C (Rostoványi and Hydén 2002) and Lockarp 7A (Rudin and Brink 2002).

A common factor for many of these settlements which makes them different from the preceding period is the abundance of negative features like

refuses pits and cooking pits. The richness of negative features is interesting in two ways: one is that they reflect the material culture of the settlements, and the other is that they testify to a new depositional practice that was different from the one practised in the preceding period.

If we start with the first matter, it is possible for the first time to draw substantial conclusions regarding Bronze Age farming practice. Judging from the evidence at Lockarp 7A emmer/spelt, naked barley, hulled barley, bread wheat, millet and gold of pleasure and soft brome (*Sw. losta*) occurred (Rudin and Brink 2002: 220–222). Emmer/spelt was the staple crop, although naked and hulled barley were important too. These results are in agreement with the results from other studied sites in south Scandinavia, and based on this evidence, it has been stated that no other period in Scandinavian prehistory witnessed such variety among cultivated crops (Gustafsson 1998; Engelman 1992).

Husbandry was based on cattle which in the evidence from Snårarp make up 65% based on the number of osteologically identified fragments, while the rest is quite equally divided sheep and pig, and horse occurs in low numbers (Magnell 2004). These results fit into a pattern revealed by studies concerned with large parts of south Scandinavia where it has been demonstrated that husbandry was concentrated on cattle (Kristiansen 1998).

Around 1100 BC there emerged a new kind of gathering places characterized by substantial numbers of cooking pits, which are often positioned on higher and gravelly ground. These places with up to several hundred cooking pits include well-known examples such as: Glumslöv (Fendin 1999, 2005), Käglinge (Thörn 1992), Svågertorp (Rostoványi and Hydén 2002), Västergård (Grehn 2004) and Bårslöv (Knarrström and Olsson 2000; Knarrström 2002). A special case are cooking pits or deep hearths aligned in a row, as at Balsgård where 20 pits were recorded in a line (Björk 1998), or at Fosie where 13 deep hearths were laid out in line (Hadevik and Gidlöf 2003: 41–43).

The high number of cooking pits recorded at many of these places justifies us in thinking about them as places with a social or ritual significance, and they have recently been seen in the light of fire cult (Thörn 1992), purification rites (Fendin 2005), or places where large quantities of food were consumed (Grehn 2004; Martens 2006). When interpretations of a primary function of these places as fire-cult sites or places for purification rites have been put forward, scholars have chosen to ignore the sometimes rather obvious domestic activities going on close to these places, and instead viewed them in isolation as liminal places in the landscape (Fendin 2005). The view taken here is rather different – they will be regarded as integral parts of the farmstead, or a village-like structure.

The most illustrative example is Glumslöv (Fig. 7.5). At this extended site a large concentration of cooking pits was documented in the northern part of the trench. In the southern part of the trench, however, three longhouses and a lot

of negative features including two wells were documented (Fendin 1999, 2005; Artursson 2005: 125–129). In these negative features 18 kg of well-preserved pottery of the rusticated type A was collected (Stilborg 2005: 450–456). The pottery and the dating of the houses indicate the settlement to be contemporary with the cooking pits in the northern part of the trench. According to Ole Stilborg, the occurrence of a large amount of pottery in pit systems about 150 metres north of the excavated longhouses may indicate another farm (Stilborg 2005: 450).

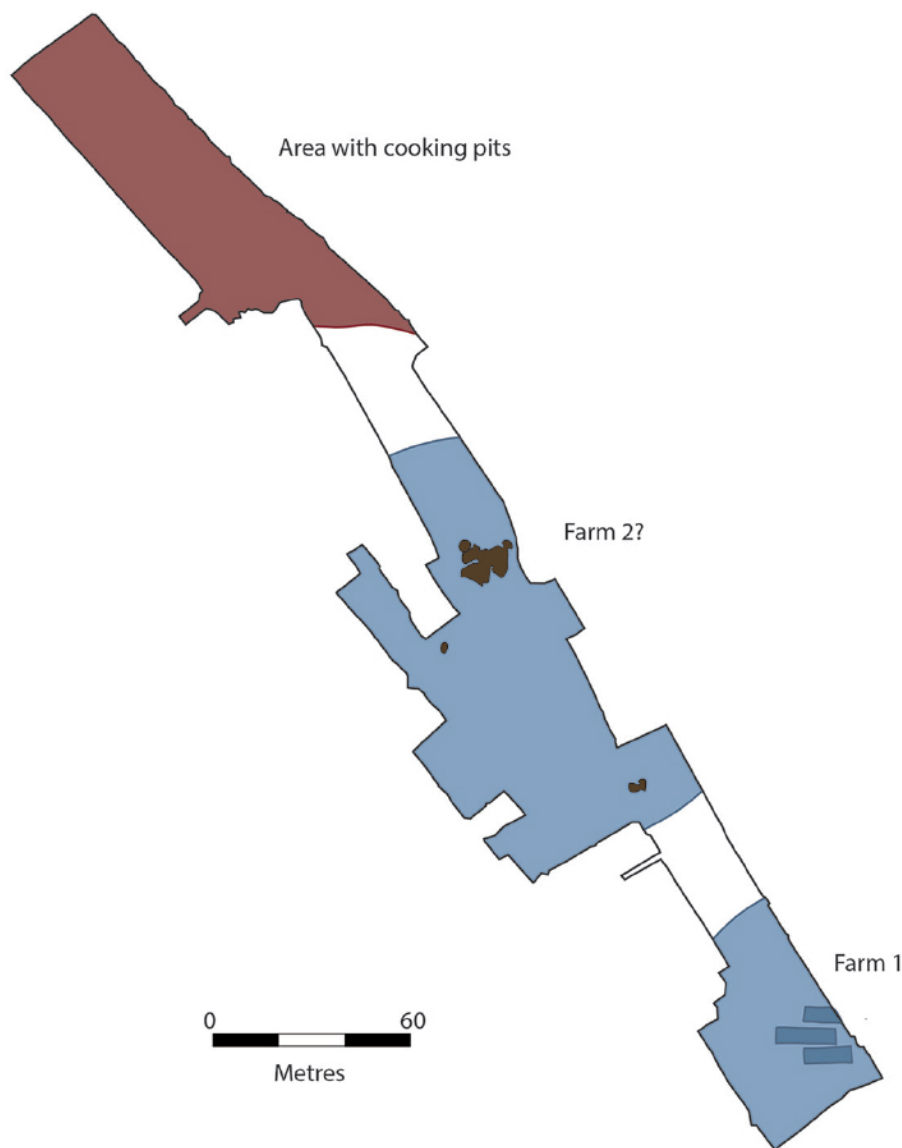


Figure 7.5. Simplified plan of the Glumslöv site indicating the area with cooking pits, the longhouses in the southern part of the trench (Farm 1), and in between yet another hypothetical farm (Farm 2?). The existence of this latter farm is deduced from the occurrence of a larger amount of pottery in pit systems

Between the settlement area and the area of the cooking pits is a stretch of 50 metres quite void of negative features and finds. Therefore we should not believe the cooking pits to be associated only with the farmstead documented, but rather to be the common gathering place for a larger dispersed village, to apply one of Magnus Artursson's models of Bronze Age settlements in the southern plains of Sweden (Artursson 2009).

A similar close spatial relation between a larger concentration of cooking pits and a settlement is also at hand at Käglinge, where houses which can be typologically attributed to the Bronze Age are contemporary with a large number of cooking pits (Thörn 1992). Finally, at Svågertorp the cooking pits are an extension of the domestic activities at the farmstead; cooking pits are found both inside the houses and also covering substantial areas around the houses (Rostoványi and Hydén 2002).

The traces of what actually went on in these pits are few but some interesting results were obtained by the Glumslöv excavation, where the cooking pits are concentrated in certain areas while adjoining areas are empty of cooking pits. Phosphate mapping demonstrated higher values in restricted parts of those areas lacking cooking pits. A possible explanation for this pattern – put forward by Jes Martens – is that the latter areas were fenced and that butchering, slaughtering and perhaps offerings of animals took place inside these presumed fenced areas (Martens 2006).

What could be noted is that in Glumslöv, and also at Käglinge, a large number of grinding stones were found in the cooking pits (Thörn 1992; Fendin 2005: 388–391), testifying to the processing of cereals and vegetables, although actual remains of these activities have not survived. The preparation of vegetables in certain cooking pits is furthermore indicated by lipid analysis from the Västergård site (Grehn 2004: 75–76).

Therefore, the overall impression is that meat, cereals and vegetables were prepared and consumed at these sites. Furthermore, in contrast to earlier interpretations, it has been argued that at least some of these places were situated in domestic settings where they functioned as a communal gathering places, either related to a single farm or related to a village structure consisting of several farms.

The most dramatic change in the history of rock art is the transition from phase 2 to phase 3 around 1100 BC. The number of sites decreased from 14 to 2. The decreasing activity is also significant when discussing motifs instead of panels. On the phase 3 panels there are only eight ships, which can be compared the roughly 500 motifs that can be attributed to the two phases 1 and 2. The decrease in activity from phase 2 to phase 3 is thus significant, when it comes to both the number of sites and the number of motifs.

Below, I will first relate these changes to the local cultural landscape as we know it from the above discussion; then I will try to discuss it briefly in

relation to changes on the continent and the expansion of the Urnfield cultures.

In the 13th and 12th centuries the mound-building tradition decreased and around 1100 BC the tradition of building new mounds had almost come to an end (Holst *et al.* 2013). Building a mound was a larger undertaking involving different groups, which, by the very actions carried out in relation to the building process, expressed various social and ritual ideals. Thus the mound-building projects acted as an umbrella organization, involving different households in joint projects.

The burial mounds were replaced by grave-fields which differed from the mounds in many respects. The layout of the grave-fields was quite sophisticated, as different burial groups inside the grave-field probably represented different households. There are also traces of a new kind of land division, as indicated by the occurrence of palisades in connection to mounds and grave-fields at Annelöv, Löderup and Ivetofta (Arcini and Svanberg 2005; Artursson and Björk 2007).

The record thus indicates a privatization of the landscape, where rituals that previously were enacted in a larger part of the landscape were now concentrated in areas close to the farms and settlements. From around 1100 BC there is close link – both spatially and symbolically – between houses and burials: graves were related to settlements and sometimes they were also built in the shape of houses (the ‘cult houses’). These changes were the result of a reorganization of the landscape: instead of multiple ritual places widely distributed in the landscape, rituals were concentrated at the settlements and the people exercising command over these settlements.

In parallel to these changes the settlements were reorganized, and the social space outside the longhouses was organized differently from previous periods. The pits, or systems of pits, covering substantial areas helped to manifest domestic production and consumption, as household debris and garbage were deposited in large quantities at certain places close to the farm. Moreover, it was mixed together with smaller quantities of non-domestic materials, such as human remains, inviting us to regard the occurrence of these pits in a broader perspective, as places where the production and consumption at the farm were related to a broader ritual framework (Nilsson 2006: 80).

At this time an older Neolithic tradition focusing on different kinds of wheat was challenged by multi-type cereal production including millet, oats and gold of pleasure. As stated by Engelmark: ‘The multiplicity of cultivated plants in the Late Bronze Age is remarkable. This means that plant husbandry was a fostered occupation, which called for careful planning since the plants, imposed quite different demands concerning soils and treatment (Engelmark 1992: 372).’

Therefore, we may talk about a cereal production which was labour-demanding, and not optimized in relation to production, but rather designed to meet the social needs of society. Looking at cattle we see a similar pattern.

The dominant domestic animal was cattle, a mobile form of wealth that could easily be used in social transactions (Earle 1997: 73).

From around 1200 BC we also witness an increase in the number of places where cooking pits make up a distinctive feature, and it has been argued that at least some of these places made up an integral part of farmsteads and dispersed villages. These places should probably be seen in the light of feast and feasting. The feast – as argued forcefully by, for example, Bryan Hayden – is an important instrument in the shaping and maintaining of social relations among and within various social groups. According to Hayden, feasting is also a prime factor behind an increase in production that goes beyond the needs of the household (Hayden 2001).

If we try to encapsulate these changes, we may think of them as a centralization in the *domestic sphere* of different social and ritual activities that before were previously performed in a broader *landscape context*. The use of palisades to divide grave-fields, the spatial and the suggested social relationship between parts of grave-fields and individual households, and the emergence of larger gathering places in relation to settlements, all indicate a concentration of social and ritual activities in the domestic sphere.

Rock art was part of this larger trend – the wider use of rock art panels in different parts of the landscape almost came to an end, as very few motifs on few panels can be attributed to this phase. However, the narrative tradition of phase 2 did not cease to exist, but was transformed into motifs displayed as decoration on metal items. The most prominent carrier of the older narrative tradition was the razor (Kaul 1998).

Razors were personal items used by specific individuals, and they ended up in graves at grave-fields that were related to settlements. The use of symbols such as ships, axes and horses continued, but now primarily as decoration on razors. The scale of these objects is small and not suitable for public display, inviting us to think about the narratives depicted on these as a rather secret knowledge, transmitted inside a restricted group of members defined by the possession of a razor. The transformation of the motifs from rock art panels to smaller metal objects does seem to reflect a grander trend towards increased spatial control of ritual and social expressions, which were formerly conducted in a wider landscape context.

In a comparative regional perspective the changes in Scania stand out as vivid. The significant decrease in the number of sites around 1100 BC has no counterpart in the Tanum area in Bohuslän, or in the Enköping area in Uppland which has been studied by Johan Ling (2008, 2013). In both these areas there was continuity from the Early to the Late Bronze Age. In the Enköping area, however, there is a decrease in the number of sites, reduced to about half the number of sites in Montelius' period IV compared to period III. A possible explanation for the rather dramatic changes in south-east Scania is that this part of Scandinavia had stronger links to a European metal economy and was thus more sensitive towards changes in central Europe and the

expansion of the Urnfield cultures.

The Urnfield cultures, which grew gradually out of the preceding Tumulus cultures, spread to larger parts of central and western Europe in the 12th century BC (Kimmig 1964). Even though the Nordic area kept a distinct tradition, it was influenced by the Urnfield cultures in various ways. These influences are seen in the import of prestige objects of central European origin (Thrane 1975), in the introduction of the ‘Sonnenvogel’ motif (Sprockhoff 1937; Kaul 1998). The changes in burial traditions, including the introduction of cremations and grave-fields, which was discussed at length above, also fall into this pattern. From the perspective of rock art, it is interesting to note that in the Urnfields there were only a limited number of symbols used in visual art, and thus there may be a link between the decline in the rock art tradition from 1100 BC and the spread of central European ideals.

Towards an Iron Age landscape, 800–200 BC

Around 800 BC there was a major reorganization of the Scanian landscape which is evident in the abandonment of older settlements and the establishment of settlements at new locations in the landscape. The break in settlement continuity is very clear, and has been documented on many occasions, especially in the south-western part of Scania but also in other parts of the province (Fig. 7.6).

This change could take different forms. In certain cases there was continuity in the use of the site, and negative features from the preceding period are present, but the first houses documented were built around 800 BC. In other cases there are no traces of earlier activities, but the settlements established around 800 BC seem to have been laid out on ground that was outside the older farmsteads. Therefore, we might expect that houses in general were relocated short distances inside settlement areas; in certain cases, however, they seem to have been established on ground that lacks settlement evidence from the previous period (Björhem and Säfvestad 1993; Björhem and Magnusson Staaf 2006: 172–178 with references; Skoglund 2015).

An example illustrating the quite dramatic and deep effects this reorganization had on a local farmstead is the Södra Sallerup site outside Malmö (Winkler 2004). From the pottery we know that this site was in use c. 1100–800 BC, even though no house can be attributed to this phase, indicating that the documented area made up the periphery of a settlement area.



Figure 7.6a–b. The settlement at Svågertorp 8B–C during two different phases defined from pottery and ^{14}C datings: a) the A-phase settlement pre-dating 800 BC b) the B-phase settlement postdating 800 BC. Redrawn by Richard Potter from information in Rostoványi and Hydén 2002: 172–173.

Due to excellent preservation conditions, a 1.5-metre broad road made of gravel and small stones was partly documented at three intervals covering about 50 metres – the road itself could be followed on a distance of some 120 metres (Fig. 7.7). Two ^{14}C datings from a layer in the rutted road which are related to the use phase testify the road to have functioned during the period c. 1000–800 BC. This road was taken out of use around 800 BC. On the top of the road – the northern wall respecting the northern edge of the former road – a 17.2×5.2 metre large longhouse was constructed. Parts of the road lying outside the house were covered by a thin sooty layer and a couple of hearths were dug into the road.

In the excavation report, it is argued that the house was placed on top of the road, in order to use the gravel as a floor inside the house. However, where the house is situated there are no traces of the road, and if this is due to

preservation the original gravelled area would only have covered a third of the northernmost part of the floor. Also, the ruts would have caused some trouble if the area was used as a floor.

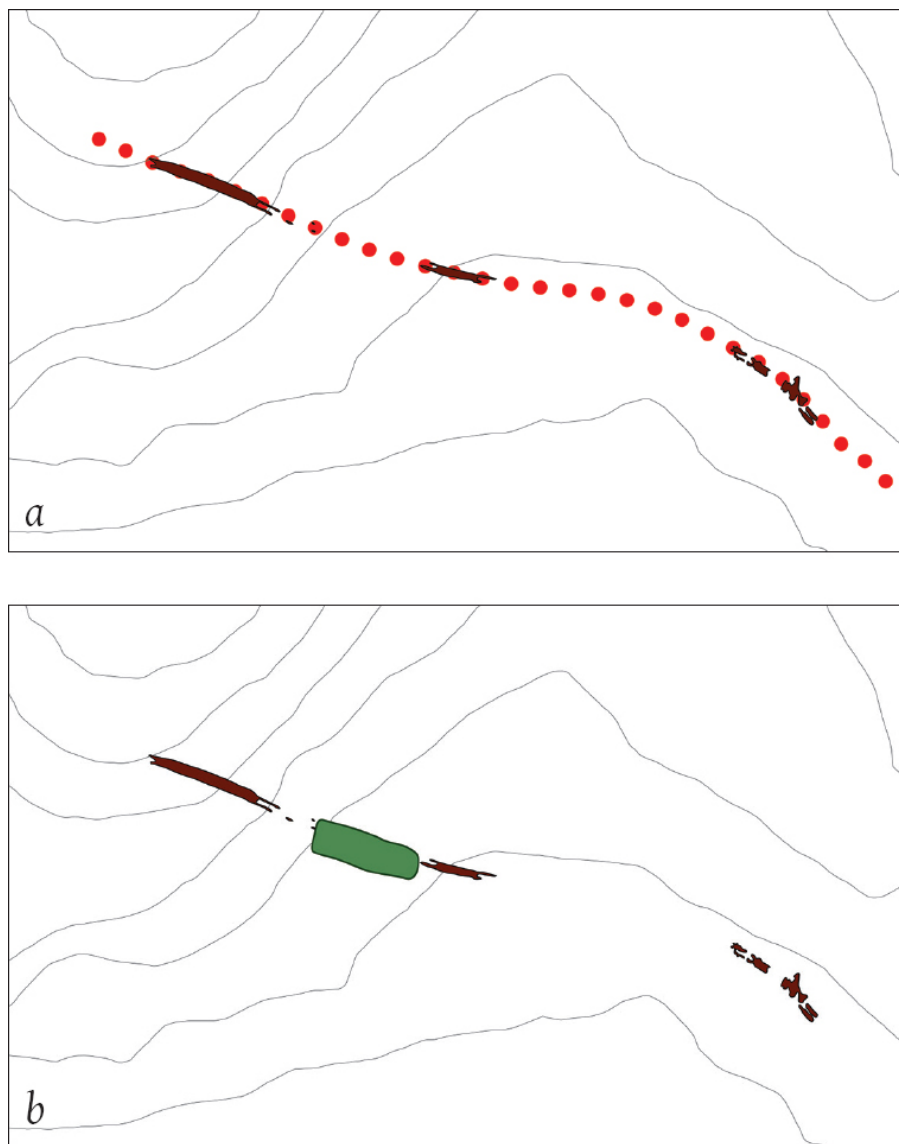


Figure 7.7a–b. The road at Södra Sallerup: a) The brown features indicate the excavated parts of the road while the red dots indicate the presumed direction of the missing parts of the road. b) The preserved parts of the road (brown) and the house (green) that was built on top of the partly destroyed road. Image by Richard Potter based on information from Winkler 2004: 51.

An alternative interpretation is that parts of the road were actually removed before the house was built and that the house was constructed on top of the road, a statement to effectively prohibit people from using the former road. In this light the building of the house on this specific place was part of a

statement including the repudiation of the older rights of various people to use the road, and the claim of this specific house to new rights including the privileges to use the former communal ground as a courtyard. It is known from historical sources that roads may also function as boundary lines in the landscape, separating different kinds of lands and estates from each other (Erikson 2001: 173–175). From this perspective the Södra Sallerup site gives us an instant view of a dramatic landscape change around 800 BC.

This settlement change should be seen in the light of contemporary changes in agriculture. The period c. 1100–800 BC is outstanding when it comes to the diversity of crops grown. The picture changes during the course of the Late Bronze Age as diversity in crops decreases and hulled barley becomes the bulk crop. This change is crucial in a long-term perspective, since it marks the introduction of the Early Iron Age agricultural system, where cereal production is dominated by hulled barley (Engelmark 1992; Gustafsson 1995: 22–25, 1998, Rostoványi and Hydén 2002: 166).

In parallel there were also changes in the composition of the livestock. The earlier focus on cattle was broken in the course of the Late Bronze Age. If we contrast the Snårarp settlement in use during phase 3 with the Hammar settlement in use during phase 4, we witness a change in the use of livestock and cereals. These changes cannot be related to geographical differences as they are situated at a distance of only seven kilometres from each other in north-eastern Scania.

At Snårarp cattle make up 65% of the livestock based on the number of osteologically identified fragments, while the rest is quite evenly divided between sheep, pig and horse. In contrast, at Hammar the division between cattle and sheep is fairly equal, the cattle making up 40% and sheep 35% based on the number of osteologically identified fragments and the rest is quite evenly divided between pig and horse (Magnell 2004; Boethius 2011). The contrast between these two sites fits into a general south Scandinavian and north European phenomenon, where cattle decrease in favour of sheep around this time (Kristiansen 1998).

Around this time there were also innovations in agricultural tools, as the large blade knife of flint was introduced. Use-wear analysis demonstrates that these kinds of tools were used to cut reeds or cereals (Högberg 2009).

Finally, there is a pronounced opening of the landscape in the very south of Scania around the city of Ystad, an area that was studied in detail by the Ystad Project involving researchers from various disciplines, including archaeologist and palaeobotanists. In the project synthesis this landscape change was thought to have taken place around 1000 BC (Berglund *et al.* 1991), but recent work including wiggle matching of ^{14}C datings places this landscape change around 800 BC instead (Berglund 2005).

Altogether this evidence speaks in favour of a major reorganization of agricultural production and the location of individual farmsteads around 800 BC.

Unfortunately, there has been less recent research on Late Bronze Age grave-fields postdating c. 800 BC than that carried out on burials dating to the period 1100–800 BC. On a general level we may conclude that there was a continuation in burial tradition between the periods. Smaller cremation burials represented by pits or urns filled with bones remained in focus, as exemplified by the grave-fields at Sockengränsen (Pettersson 2007), Lockarps bytomt (Heimer *et al.* 2006) and Västergård (Grehn 2004), to mention three recently excavated examples.

The dating of these grave-fields is interesting since they were established around 800 BC when the grave-fields at Annelöv, Häljarps Mölla and Gualöv went out of use. A number of other grave-fields in the region were also totally or partly abandoned around 800 BC (Arcini and Svanberg, 2005; Arcini *et al.* 2007; Gedda 2007); and the primary reason for this should be the relocation of related settlements.

Returning to the rock art, we notice that the establishment of a burial ground close to the rock art site at Järrestad around 800 BC was probably part of this process: many grave-fields established in the 12th century BC went out of use around this around time and were replaced by others at new locations in the landscape. At Järrestad, the grave-field was established on and very close to a rock art panel, which probably had gone out of use around 1100 BC; but c. 800 BC it was revitalized and incorporated in the burial ground (Skoglund 2013a).

In phase 4, starting around 800 BC, there is a slight revitalization of the south-east Scanian rock art tradition, as a wider repertoire of motifs was in use in this phase, compared to the previous phase, including human images, riders and foot outlines. However, this phase is difficult to evaluate, because the larger number of motifs and the broader repertoire of motifs is found only at Järrestad.

Even though the rock art tradition was revitalized around 800 BC, there are no obvious signs of sequenced images or narratives. What stands out when comparing different phases is a focus on individual skills, as expressed by the warrior image (the so-called ‘Dancer’) and the riders controlling their horses by bridles, which are to be seen at the Järrestad site.

The way horses are depicted at the Järrestad site, with humans standing on the top of them, controlling the horses with the help of a bridle, may be associated with a new kind of use of horses in Hallstatt C. Bridles were known in previous periods, but in Hallstatt C1 a new larger bit of iron was introduced in central Europe (Pare: 1992: 138). This period also saw the introduction and spread of wagon graves in central Europe, described at length by Pare (1992).

However, there is also a large group of graves with horse-gear that lack wagons. When these graves consist of two sets of horse-gear, Pare argues that they are *pars par toto* wagon graves, but the occurrence of graves with horse-gear for a single horse shows that this interpretation does not account for all of

the material (Pare 1992: 197). The focus on the bridle and the riders controlling their horses may testify to a link between these images on the Järrestad panel and contemporary horse-gear burials in central Europe.

The larger human image which dates to 800 BC or slightly afterwards has a sword, or rather sword scabbard, attached to the body. The scabbard has two wings that allowed a swordsman on horseback to hold the scabbard with his heel while drawing the sword (Cowen 1967; Cunliffe 1978: 140). The use of horses in fighting and this kind of sword thereby made up a new military package that differentiated the Iron Age warrior from the Bronze Age warrior, who primarily fought on foot (Cowen 1967).

The Järrestad site thus seems to be part of broader Scanian landscape pattern where many settlements, burials and agricultural plots were relocated around 800 BC, but it also demonstrates a revitalization of the rock art tradition due to influences from central and western Europe.

Chapter 8

Summary and perspectives

Through a detailed chronological analysis of the rock art in south-east Scania, this study has revealed some new perspectives on the changing context of rock art through time. The tradition of making images started around 1700 BC and should be seen in the light of travels by ship across the sea. Possibly, there is a link towards England where there are motifs of a kind of axes with pointed edges rather similar to those identified on some of the Simrishamn panels.

The panels near the sea, dominated by ships and axes, have been interpreted as the outcome of maritime rituals performed in relation to the launching of ships and the arrival of ships. In this early phase there is a contrast between these maritime carvings and the carvings at Järrestad further inland. The Järrestad carvings and some other minor inland sites are dominated by feet images, and it has been argued that they are related to ideas of the human body and personhood, which in turn was related to another kind of rituals than those enacted closed to the sea.

Around 1400 BC the rock art tradition was transformed as rock art images such as the ship, the axe and the circle in addition to the horse – which is a novelty – were arranged in sequences or narratives. Those engaged in rock art developed a series of techniques to transgress from static images to stories that unfold through time. In order to solve these problems, there were a lot of different narrative techniques in use in parallel, and we may talk about this period as characterized by a *visual literacy*.

These narratives were not restricted to a maritime context, but could be applied to various contexts, and it has been argued that the ship now held a position as a key symbol, i.e. a symbol that can be used in many different contexts and situations, and are able to summarize different aspects in one symbol. In contrast to some regions further north, there are no signs of martial ideal in the Scanian tradition, but instead there are many references to solar symbolism.

Around 1100 BC there was a distinct decrease in the amount of rock art, and for the next three centuries only scattered ship images were made. The rock art images were transformed into a new medium – metal – and narratives

similar to the ones previously identified in the rock art in south-east Scania are from now on found on the blades of metal razors. The contextual change from open-air panels to individual metal items was interpreted as the outcome of a general change in the spatial distribution of various rituals from a larger landscape setting towards a domestic setting.

The dramatic decrease in rock art in south-east Scania is also in parallel to major changes in the material culture in south and central Europe. It was argued that the disappearance of the narrative rock art tradition in southeast Scania is related to major social changes on a European level, especially the rise of the Urnfield cultures.

Around 800 BC the rock art tradition of south-east Scania was revitalized, though the amount of rock art is still limited in comparison to the Early Bronze Age (phases 1 and 2). There is no clear maritime connection in this period, but the majority of the motifs stem from the Järrestad site, which around 800 BC was incorporated in a burial ground. Motifs such as a warrior with a scabbard sword and six riders, displaying individual skill, are probably influenced by Hallstatt cultures in western and central Europe.

In conclusion, the rock art tradition in south-east Scania underwent several significant changes during the time span 1700–200 BC. Rock art started in a maritime environment, and much of the early rock art seems to reflect rituals performed in connection with sea voyages. After 1400 BC, however, this situation changed and the use of rock art expanded into new kinds of contexts and the ship became a key symbol that could be used in different contexts. Around 800 BC yet another dimension was added, as individual skill is highlighted on the Järrestad panel. The major conclusion to be drawn from this study is that there is no specific meaning attached to rock art: it was a medium that could be used for different purposes as society changed through time.

The historical perspective elucidated in this study provides new insights which may give new perspectives on previous research trends concerning the understanding of rock art. To summarize and generalize a complex matter, one may say that much of modern research on Scandinavian rock art has oscillated between a maritime perspective and a religious-historically oriented perspective.

A leading researcher in the 19th century was Bror Emil Hildebrand who in 1869 stated rock art to be a Bronze Age phenomenon, and he also claimed that a majority of the images represented seafaring and combat. Moreover, he regarded them as part of a maritime environment. From geology he was aware of long-term lowering in sea water levels, and according to Hildebrand rock art was originally made in relation to sea bays, sounds and river beds (Hildebrand 1869: 422–423; Ling 2008: 22–23; Bertilsson 2015).

At the beginning of the 20th century Professor Oscar Almgren at Uppsala University undertook exhaustive studies of rock art and came to a different conclusion. He applied a religious-historical comparative perspective to rock

art, which enabled him to make new interpretations of the character of Bronze Age religion. For him, rock art was pictorial evidence shedding light on the ritual aspects of Bronze Age religion, and by comparing images with ethnographical and written sources he concluded that much of rock art displayed rituals related to solar symbolism. In Almgren's, and others scholars', focus on rock art as an expression of religion there was no room for viewing images in a maritime setting; the ships were transformed into ritual ships carried around on land (1927).

To put it simply, Bror Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Almgren form part of two major research trends, with great impact in the 19th and 20th century, respectively. Almgren's new methodical approach influenced contemporary scholars, and his major opus from 1927 *Hällristningar och Kultbruk*, came to set a standard for the interpretation of rock art. Even though his conclusions have been disputed and argued against, there is no doubt that Almgren's work is still influential and that he laid an important foundation for the interpretation of rock art as a religious phenomenon (Kaul 1998; Fredell 2003; Kristiansen 2010). In the last 15 years, however, we have witnessed a return of a maritime perspective in rock art studies (Coles 2000, 2005; Nordenborg Myhre 2004; Ling 2008, 2013). Today these two perspectives exist in parallel.

One way of understanding this situation is that an older religious paradigm is about to be replaced by a renewed maritime paradigm. Another possibility would be that today's pluralistic research environment has come to stay. I would favour the latter conclusion, and by a thorough analysis of the rock art in south-east Scania, this study has demonstrated that both perspectives are appropriate and may contribute to our understanding of the south Scandinavian rock art tradition. However, they may be more or less relevant in different kinds of contexts, and the relative importance of these two perspectives has certainly changed over time. Rock art was not a static medium; it gained new and different kinds of meanings as time progressed from the earliest Bronze Age into the Iron Age.

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